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"You see how they are divided!
They're split into at least 16 parties."

16th Palestinian National Council Begins

Special to Al Fajr

Unity; independence; no concessions on fundamental Palestinian rights; combined political and military struggle until the establishment of an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital. These are the main guidelines for the next phase of the Palestinian national liberation struggle as agreed upon by all the organisations and political groups that make up the PLO.

These in a nutshell were the principal points of PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat's 30-minute opening address to the sixteenth Palestinian National Council meeting, Monday evening February 14, at Algiers' "Club Des Pins" conference centre.

Four days of intensive debate, February 10-13, preceded the discussions on the basic political document which will be submitted for the approval of the PNC, which last met in April 1981 in Damascus. Before the meeting started there were warm embraces and handshaking between friends, and especially between those who lived through the siege of Beirut and have dispersed in a dozen Arab countries and the others who live in the Middle East, Europe or the US.

The main issues of their meeting, which is expected to last not less than 10 days, of which only the first three will be in open session, are the reorganisation of the political and military structures in the new geographical reality of the PLO and the development of the next diplomatic and political strategy.

In addition to the 315 council members (see box) also present at the meeting are 90 delegations from Africa, Europe, North and South America, representatives of governments, parliaments or political bodies, as well as friends and observers. The point of unity is a major item on the agenda of the PNC. No one, not even the smallest or more radical groups within the Palestinian movement, have the intention of exacerbating ideological division. A conference spokeperson summed up the feeling: "We shall not heed pressures from certain Arab countries or the US." Similar statements have been repeated by the spokespersons of all organisations.

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Inter-Israeli Political Violence

'PEACE NOW' DEMONSTRATOR KILLED

One Peace Now demonstrator, Emile Greenzweig, 33, was killed and nine were wounded, two seriously, February 10, when a hand grenade exploded in a crowd of protestors, near the Israeli prime minister's office in West Jerusalem. The incident which was described by Peace Now as "planned before hand" raised allegations that Kach movement-supporters were behind the assassination.

The explosion occurred shortly after 9 pm as 2000 demonstrators dispersed, after protesting the government's hesitant position on the Kahan Commission recomendations.

Describing the events at the time of the incident, Peace Now representatives said that 40-50 people were left in the area when the grenade exploded under the car of a Peace Now leader. "Immediately afterwards people were lying in pools of blood, with no one to help," said one witness. "Some people pushed the wounded in their cars and drove them to hospital."

Amiram Goldblum, one of Peace Now's three spokesmen, told **Al Fajr** that shortly after they started marching, two men, who he had seen before in the company of Rabbi Kahane the leader of Kach, approached him. "They first calmly spoke to me, and tried to convince me not to take part in such demonstrations. However, when I told them I am free to believe what I want, one of them said that 'at the next demonstration hand grenades will be used against you'," Goldblum said.

The spokesman said that he was not accusing them of committing the attack, and that the police are investigating the case.

As the demonstrators marched from down town Jerusalem to Begin's office, a group of between 50 and 60 people escorted the demonstration, shouting 'Begin King of Israel' and 'Sharon King of Israel'. The group, some of whom were members of the Kach movement tried to stop the march. They threw stones injuring one woman, tried to beat them up, spat at them, tore up placards, and called them 'fascists.' "It was so awful," said one participant.

The march, over a distance which usually takes about 15 minutes to walk, took the marchers more than two hours. "This is because Kahana's people tried to stop the march," Goldblum told **Al Fajr**. There were very few policemen, and they were unable to prevent the hecklers from harassing the marchers, he added.

The victim, Emile Greenzweig, was an employee of the liberal Van Leer Research Foundation in Jerusalem. "He was one of the central people in the (Peace Now) movement," Amiram Goldblum said.

Observers believe the assassination reflects a growing tendency towards violence between pro- and anti-Beginists in Israel. Goldblum said that the incident shows that "the sanity and democracy of Israel is at stake. People who have felt indifferent to political issues will start to take sides."

Occupied Palestinians Salute PNC

Palestinians from the towns, villages and refugee camps of the occupied territories were on the streets from the early morning February 14 as the PNC session was opening in Algiers. Demonstrators hoisted Palestinian flags and pictures of PLO Chief Yasir Arafat as clashes between stone throwing Palestinians and Israeli soldiers using live ammunition took place. As a result of the clashes curfew was slapped on the Qasabeh quarter of Nablus, and the Kalandia refugee camp on the Ramallah-Jerusalem road after an Israeli officer was injured.

In Ramallah's centre, an Israeli vehicle was stoned and an Israeli soldier injured. There were also demonstrations at nearby Bir Zeit University. Pictures of Yasir Arafat were hung on campus walls. Jalazoun refugee camp near Ramallah was kept under curfew for the sixth consecutive day.

In Gaza a 42-year-old Israeli man was killed when unidentified individuals shot him near the Firas market. Israeli soldiers rushed to the scene of the shooting, closing stores and rounding-up passers-by. (Translation: Al Ittihad, February 15)

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LEBANON

15 Palestinians Murdered In Ain al-Hilweh

Fifteen bodies, many of which were identified as Palestinian refugees, have been discovered near Ain al-Hilweh refugee camp, in South Lebanon, an UNRWA spokesman in Vienna said in a press release February 11.

In a statement issued in Vienna, UNRWA charged that "Christian militia forces" in South Lebanon are responsible for the terror campaign in the Sidon area. Quoting the statement, Associated Press said the terror campaign was being waged by the Phalangists and Guardians of the Cedars (Hurras al-Arz).

According to the UNRWA statement, three bodies were burned February 10. Later one of the bodies was identified as that of a middle-aged male Palestinian from Burj al-Shamali refugee camp, near Tyre. Another mutilated body of a 17-year-old Palestinian was also found in the vicinity of Ain al-Hilweh.

On the same day, several Palestinian residents of Ibra and Haliliyeh areas were injured when Phalangist militia men opened fire on them. *Al Shaab* local daily reported that Phalangist militiamen blocked all roads leading to Sidon and searched all people entering or leaving the area.

Foreign journalists in South Lebanon said that Israeli forces raided several Palestinian houses in Burj al-Shamali refugee camp February 10 on the pretext of searching for weapons. Israeli soldiers also detained Mou'in Shabaitah, principal of Shuhadaa' Falastin school in Ghaziyeh village.

Earlier in the week three Palestinians from Mia Mia camp were injured when an explosion occurred in that camp. The explosion, the third in the camp in three weeks, damaged 14 houses.

The wave of terror against Palestinian refugees aims at forcing them to move to the large refugee camps, such as Ain al-Hilweh, near Sidon, and Rashidiyeh, near Tyre. According to UNRWA officials, refugees from the village of Addousieh, near Sidon, were warned by "Christian militia forces" to move to Ain al-Hilweh refugee camp within 24 hours. Furthermore, 13 more families, who live in UNRWA-provided tents in Sidon, were also told to move to Ain al-Hilweh. AP quoted UNRWA officials in Beirut as saying that a group calling itself the "Guardians of the Cedars" are behind the threat.

"Threatened Palestinians are usually asked to appear in front of a three-member, black-hooded committee, which tells them they must leave their homes,"said the officials. The UNRWA statement said that if the threat is carried out, more than two thirds of the Palestinians in the Sidon area will be affected.

The UN agency's general commissioner Olof Rydbeck, in a statement to journalists, expressed deep concern over the deteriorating security situation for Palestinian refugees in South Lebanon. Rydbeck told reporters that Israel is responsible for the security of the refugees, since it occupies the area.

Looking to the future — students in Shatila camp

TANKS ROLL ON SIDON, NABATIYEH

Haddad Consolidates Grip on South Lebanon

As the 16th PNC, the first not to be held in a country bordering Palestine, was convening in Algiers, fear and tension among Palestinians in occupied South Lebanon reached a new peak this week. After taking Sidon, large forces of Saad Haddad's militias moved into Nabatiyeh and rampaged through an area inhabited by tens of thousands of unarmed civilians. Western observers are now saying that people who have survived with difficulty the-horrors of the past six months, have just about reached the limit of human endurance.

On the morning of February 15 Haddad's tanks and troops moved into Sidon in a massive show of force. They took over the Hamshari hospital, formerly operated by the Palestinian Red Crescent Society, and established their new regional headquarters there. Haddad, ensconced in his new office in that building declared the event, in bombastic Begin-like rhetoric, to be "a step towards the reinforcement of legality and the reorganisation of the army of free Lebanon."

The Haddad-controlled area covers at present practically one-fourth of the total area of Lebanon. One west Beirut newspaper, commenting on the take-over stated, "If someone establishes this fact in this area there will be others who will establish similar facts in other areas of Lebanon. This can mean nothing else but the final division of Lebanon."

In the meantime, a representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Beirut, Thomas Reuge, declared, "Whatever happens in occupied South Lebanon and whoever commits crimes against Palestinians or exacerbates divisions in that area, the responsibility is that of the occupying power."

Sharon Forced To Resign

Ariel Sharon, the Israeli minister of defence, resigned February 11 after the cabinet voted 16-1 to enact the Kahan Commission recommendations on the Sabra and Shatila massacres. In the early morning, Sharon agreed to resign after earlier stating he would never quit. The cabinet decided that Prime Minister Menachem Begin will act as defence minister.

As news of the resignation came out, Knesset member Yosef Rom told reporters that Likud members had said Sharon must continue in the cabinet in another position. Dror Zeigerman, a Liberal MK, demanded Sharon be dismissed from the cabinet. He accused Sharon of "not caring about democracy."

Reacting to the dismissal, an official Syrian spokesman in Damascus said that Sharon's resignation "will not change Israeli policy in the area."

In Lebanon, however, spokespeople for the regime said Sharon's resignation will have "positive reflections on the Israeli-Lebanese negotiations."

Egyptian Secretary-of-State Butrus Ghali said, after his return from a short trip to Iraq, Lebanon and Jordan, that Sharon's resignation "will strengthen the work towards establishing peace in the region."

Begin took over the defence portfolio immediately but within hours announced that Israel's Washington Ambassador Moshe Arens was to take the post. Arens, an extreme hawk, voted against the Camp David accords and withdrawal from Sinai while in the Knesset. By the end of the week final decisions still had to be taken about the futures of military intelligence chief Yehoshua Saguy and Beirut area commander Amos Yaron, both of whom the Kahan Commission recommended removed from their posts.

Israeli Mothers to See PFLP-GC Prisoners

Two Israeli women are making plans to visit their sons who were captured with another six Israeli soldiers in an ambush in the Beqa'a last September. The two soldiers are being held by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine — General Command.

Miriam Azouf and Safi Shalim received an inivitation to visit their sons through Jordanian TV's Hebrew newscast "The Letter." A Jordanian correspondent who had visited the two soldiers announced that the mothers could go to Beirut and contact the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) there to make arrangements for a visit.

Miriam Azouf, whose son Yusef is held by the PFLP-GC, told an Israeli TV correspondent after the news, "I have decided to do my utmost to get my son released." She chided the Israel TV correspondent for describing the PLO as terrorists during his interview with her. He said, "The terrorists are probably watching this interview, what do you want to say to them?" Miriam answered, "Let us not say 'terrorists' but the Palestine Liberation Organisation." She then called for the release of Palestinians held in Ansar in exchange for the eight Israelis. "I am ready also to play the role of mediator in this. I want to say to my son that we are fine and send our greetings and longing to him."

Israeli sources say the army will give the two women permits to go to Beirut.

Suleiman Shaqour from Sakhnin, whose two brothers have official posts in the PLO, has phoned the families of the Israeli soldiers in Holon, Tel Aviv, offering to accompany them on their visit to Beirut. Jubran Shaqour told *Al Fajr* "My brother and I decided to help the Israeli women for humanitarian reasons."

The six other Israelis are being held by FATAH. They have had regular visits from the ICRC and have been interviewed by several journalists, including *Al Fajr* publisher Paul Ajlouny.

ANSAR STRIKE

Al Safir Lebanese daily, reported that prisoners at Ansar detention camp are refusing to obey orders in protest at bad conditions. The paper said that Israeli soldiers guarding the camp opened fire at the prisoners in order to put down the rebellion. The report did not mention whether there were any casualties, but said that ambulances were seen entering the camp. A helicopter also landed inside the camp and took off 15 minutes later.

First Seizure of West Bank Islamic Lands

Israeli military authorities confiscated a total of 200 dunums of Deir Dibwan and Beitounia property from the Islamic *waqf* committee in Ramallah February 7. The measure, the first of its kind against Islamic property, drew condemnation from the head of the Ramallah committee.

The order, transmitted by letter, was signed by the Israeli custodian of absentee property, who is also responsible for state property. The letter said that the takeover was for "military and public purposes."

Azam Khatib, *waqf* chairman, told *Al Fajr* that the largest portion of the land is located in Deir Dibwan, north of Ramallah. The estimated 167 dunums are agricultural land, usually leased to local farmers. Portions of the plot are planted with olive trees while the bulk is used for grain growing. The remaining 33 dunums, located in Beitounia, are also cultivated. More important, the Muslim holy shrine of Sheikh Abu Zeitoun is located on the site.

Khatib strongly rejects the Israeli authorities offer of compensation for the land. The Israeli measure will be brought to the next *waqf* council meeting, where a decision to counter the Israeli measure by legal means, is expected to be adopted.

In related news, over 50 landowners in Beitounia, Deir Bizi', Ain Kinia, Janiya, Ain Arik and Kufr Nameh met February 12 at the Beitounia municipality to discuss reactions to last week's confiscation of 1000 dunums. The meeting appointed a six-member land defence committee to represent the Ramallah villages. Ahmad Lutfi Othman, mayor of Beitounia, said that the Israeli authorities are planning to confiscate four mountain peaks, west and south-west of Beitounia: Jeryout, Asqalan, Abu Zeitoun and Ain Abdullah. Last week the Israeli authorities confiscated 500 dunums in the Jafir area of Beitonia.

Working Women's Federation Reviews First Year

One hundred and sixty women attended the first annual conference of the Palestinian Working Women's Federation (in the West Bank and Gaza) February 13 at the Professional Unions' headquarters in Beit Hanina. Under the slogan, "Struggle for National Independence, Peace and Equality of Rights," women representing 48 branch committees reported on their social, political and cultural achievements during the past year.

Hanan Banoura, member of the executive committee, surveyed the conditions of women workers. She also described the federation's successes in the work world. "We signed contracts on behalf of seamstresses in two Nablus sewing factories and convinced some 100 institutions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip to pay wages for a day's vacation on March 8 — International Women's Day," she said.

In the social sphere, the federation opened eight kindergartens in the West Bank, three summer camps for children, and six medical clinics in villages and camps. The federation held 50 voluntary medical work days and gave dozens of medical lectures at their clinics.

As for cultural activities, the federation hosted lectures and forums in the West Bank and opened 11 literacy centres.

Hanan Banoura also reported on the Israeli authorities' harassment of West Bank women. Soldiers broke into the Nablus women's centre during their International Women's Day festival last March.

Awatef Subhi, another member of the executive committee, talked about the organisational structure of the federation and make-up of the group's membership. 30 percent are women at home, 65 percent work outside and five percent students.

Kiryat Arba Settlers Threaten Curfewed Dhahriyeh

Settlers from Kiryat Arba, near Hebron, demonstrated in the streets of the curfewed town of Dhahriyeh, February 15, demanding that the Israeli military authorities increase their repressive measures against Palestinian residents. Meanwhile, Gush Emunim settlers, in coordination with the Council of Jewish Settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, decided to set up a "security committee" to find means of countering stone-throwing attacks against settlers. The settlers' move, authorised by the Israeli military authorities, came after a woman wounded in a stone-throwing incident near the town three weeks earlier died in hospital. Since the incident, the 14,000 inhabitant town has been under curfew.

According to the Israeli government Arabic language newspaper, *Al Anba'*, some 100 settlers from Kiryat Arba and other Hebron district settlements made for Dhahriyeh on the night of February 15. Israeli soldiers at roadblocks delayed the settlers until they were given a permit to enter. Eventually, the settlers were allowed to invade the town in 12 jeeps, where they broadcast warning threats through loudspeakers for several hours as they drove around in the streets.

Later Israeli news media said that settlers in the occupied territories had promised to take revenge on Palestinians who participate in stone-throwing. Settlers also called on the Israeli government to expel youths suspected of stone-throwing, and their families, to Jordan. (From Local Palestinian and Israeli papers)

Tax Collectors Raid Tax-Exempt Gaza Women's Union

Three tax collectors broke into the Women's Union office in Gaza February 13 and confiscated the account books. Yusra Barbari, union chairwoman, said she had showed the tax men certification that the organisation is exempt from taxes but the raid still went ahead. The union has been tax-exempt since it was founded in 1964.

On February 10 Yusra Barbari met with the Israeli customs officer in Gaza and told him that the Women's Union has not paid taxes to the Israeli authorities since 1968. Officer Gabay reportedly told her that the Israeli legal advisor "will discuss this matter."

A month earlier, the Israeli authorities ordered the union and other institutions in Gaza to apply for new certificates of registration. During the 1968-69 fiscal year, the Women's Union requested tax-exempt status and this was granted by Israel. It was asked to resubmit an annual request. Yusra Barbari told *Al Fajr* that "this is part of the pressures exerted against institutions in Gaza and the West Bank to crush any development. She noted that recently Israel established "what they called a 'development bank'. They want to receive all funds from outside and then divide them among institutions after deducting 30 percent from the sum," Barbari reported.

The union has branches in Gaza, Khan Yunis, Rafah and Beit Hanoun. Each centre has a kindergarten and offers courses in embroidery, sewing and knitting. The organisation also offers assistance to poor families and knits sweaters for Palestinian prisoners. An estimated 1500 people benefit from their services in Gaza.

Chambers of Commerce Protest Imposition of Israeli Tax Law

Chambers of commerce chairmen in the West Bank and Gaza Strip declared February 13 their opposition to the imposition of Israel tax law in the occupied territories. The chairmen were reacting to questionnaires on capital holdings sent to West Bankers by the Israeli authorities.

Raghib Mortaja, deputy head of Gaza chamber of commerce, told *Al Fajr* that the occupation's income tax department in Gaza last week informed citrus producers that they must provide the authorities with full documentation of their exports, marketing and other accounts.

Fathi Dadu, Tulkarm chamber of commerce chairman, said that the Israeli authorities' attempts to impose Israeli tax law contravenes Jordanian law and that, by international law, the Israeli authorities cannot impose their laws on an occupied people.

Ibrahmim al-Far, Ramallah chamber of commerce head, told *Al Fajr* that he sees the imposition of Israeli laws on the West Bank and Gaza Strip as a precedent to annexation.

At a meeting of the Union of West Bank Chambers of Commerce in Jerusalem January 24 chairmen signed letters to area Israeli military governors protesting the introduction of tax restrictions. As yet, they have not received an answer.

Na'ela Rabah, (right), former secretary of Working Women's Federation, addresses annual meeting (left).

Soldiers' Duty to "Disobey Orders"

Israel Radio reported: Israeli soldiers should disobey orders which are "clearly illegal," a Jaffa military judge declared February 17. The court found four soldiers guilty and acquitted three others of excess during the spring 1982 uprising.

In a long summation the court acknowledged that senior officers, including star-witness Chief of Staff Raphael Eitan, had issued orders to harass, arrest and impose economic sanctions on "demonstrators, suspected trouble makers and local residents." Military commander Yaakov Hartabi issued orders, the court said, which were "clearly illegal."

"Soldiers have a duty to disobey such orders," the court said. Details of sentences are not available.

Three members of Italian delegation flank Hassan Jabarin (second from right)/AAF

Palestine Hosts *Italian Delegation*

The Abna' al-Balad movement held a popular meeting in Um al-Fahm, the Triangle, February 9 in honour of a visiting delegation of the Italian Democratic Proletarian party (DPP). A representative of Peace Now also attended the meeting.

Hassan Jabarin, Abna' al-Balad spokesperson, outlined for the delegation the conditions of the Palestinians in Israel. On behalf of Abna' al-Balad, he asked the Italian delegation to convey the greetings of the Palestinians in Israel to the 16th PNC and to assure the council that "we still, and will continue to adhere to our land and Palestinian identity."

. . . . . .

The delegation came to Palestine February 7 at the invitation of Abna' al-Balad to meet with peace and left-wing movement activists, as well as to visit Palestinian trade unionists in the West Bank.

Last June, Abna' al-Balad was invited to Italy to the DPP's fourth annual conference.

ARCHBISHOP CAN STAY

JERUSALEM — Israeli Interior Minister Yosef Burg said that he has issued orders to the police not to expel Armenian Archbishop Karakian Kazanjian. This amends a decision taken last December which produced a strong reaction inside the Armenian community in Jerusalem, and other Christian circles in the city as well as in the occupied territories in general.

Leaders of the Greek, Armenian and Catholic churches and Fransiscan leaders threatened to close holy sites in protest if the decision was implemented. No reason for the explusion decision or its cancellation was given.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 146, February 18, 1983:

Number of original articles sent to censor	36
Number of articles totally censored out	5
Number of articles mutilated beyond use	1
Number of articles returned	7
Number of articles partially censored but used	2
Number of articles passed	21

Abna' al-Balad Denied Permit to Protest Land Grabs

Israeli police in the Galilee refused to give the Abna' al-Balad movement a permit to hold a popular meeting February 10, in preparation for Land Day.

Members from Abna' al-Balad applied to the police February 6 for a permit to hold a meeting and march to protest the interior ministry's decision to annex more than 150,000 dunums of land from several Arab villages in the Sakhnin region to the Israeli-Jewish regional council, Misgav.

The Israeli police commander of the northern region refused to grant permission under the pretext that "the demonstration might disturb public order."

The movement rejected this explanation and charged that the measure aims at prohibiting Galilee Palestinians from expressing support for the Palestinian National Council. "This shows that Israel's democracy is false," Jubran Shaqour, member of the movement, charged. He explained that the Israeli authorities try to contain voices which oppose Zionist policies.

CONFISCATIONS

In the wake of renewed land confiscations in the occupied territories and inside the 'green line' the Abna' al-Balad movement issued a statement February 5 calling for an end to the land seizure policy. It had unexpected results. "The statement," Jubran Shaqour, an Abna' al-Balad activist said, "was used by **The Jerusalem Post** to incite against the movement."

The leaflet, which was distributed among Palestinians in the Galilee and the Triangle, was issued after the Israeli interior ministry decided to annex 160,000 dunums of Arab-owned land in the Galilee to the Jewish regional council of Misgav. Palestinians from the Galilee, including Abna' al-Balad, charged that the decision represents "a first step on the road to confiscate the land."

RAKAH PROTESTS

In another report published February 12, under the title, "Arabs pressured not to sell their land," *The Jerusalem Post* accused the Israeli Communist Party (Rakah) of pressuring Palestinian villagers from the Galilee not to sell their land to Israeli land companies. Tawfiq Toubi, MK and member of the party's polit bureau, reacted to the *Post's* allegation: "Our position in regard to land is that Arab peasants should maintian their land, which is the essence of their existence in their homeland. We oppose land confiscation policies on principle, and our stand on Land Day reflects this position."

Toubi said that land areas which are sold are insignificant if compared to land confiscated. He pointed to the attempt to annex Arab land to Misgav regional council as an example.

Abna' al-Balad and the Israeli Communist Party, have been coming under constant attacks from the Israeli authorities. Several members of Abna' al-Balad and Rakah were imprisoned or placed under town arrest for their political activities.

GALILEE YOUTHS IMPRISONED FOR BEIRUT MASSACRE PROTEST

Israel's magistrates court in Acre sentenced two Palestinian youths from the Galilee February 13 to two months imprisonment and four months suspended for three years, and fined them IS7000 each, after they were found guilty of participating in an "illegal demonstration."

Qabalan Daghash, 19, from Deir Hanna, and Khair Muhammad Akriyeh, 22, from Arrabeh, were brought to court on charges of participating in a demonstration in Arrabeh on September 20, 1982. The spontameous protest broke out after the news of the Sabra and Shatila massacre spread. At the time, Palestinians in most Galilee and Triangle villages took to the streets.

The two youths were arrested and held for four days, and then released on personal bail. In court December 3 the two youths admitted that they participated in the demonstration. The court convicted them, but delayed passing sentence until the officer responsible for minors filed a report. The defendants' lawyer, Salim Wakim of Haifa, described the sentence as "heavy." "Several youths were convicted on similar charges, but were only given suspended sentences," he said.

Immediately after the sentence was read, the two youths were taken to prison. The lawyer requested unsuccessfully that the implementation of the sentence be withheld until after the central court hear their appeal. Wakim petitioned Acre central court February 15 for an injunction against the implementation of the sentence. The petition gave the families of the two youths an opportunity to collect money for the fine, which would have been doubled if it was not paid on time.

Amnesty International Charges Egypt with Human Rights Violations

People suspected of opposing the Egyptian government face years of arrest and re-arrest, sporadic imprisonment and repeated trials under a battery of laws limiting free expression, Amnesty International said February 16. In a new report, the worldwide human rights movement also cited frequent and consistent reports of torture of political prisoners, including beatings and burning with cigarettes.

"We don't know whether this torture has become a part of the system for dealing with political prisoners, but there has been a definite increase in the amount reported over the past year," a representative of Amnesty International said.

The report, **Egypt: Violations of Human Rights**, describes a network of laws and decrees under which people from all walks of life are arrested for the non-violent expression of their views. Some are never charged or tried, but repeatedly held for months at a time. Many of these arrests take place under the rules of a state of emergency which has been lifted for only 17 months in the last decade.

Journalist Hussein Abdul Raziq, whose case is cited in the report, was arrested five times in five years. Acquitted once by the Supreme State Security Court, he faces three more trials, including re-trial on the charge of which has was acquitted. The stream of charges against him are based on alleged activities in the banned Egyptian Communist Party.

Other cases involve urban and rural workers, lawyers, doctors, Muslim and Christian religious leaders and politicians.

An Amnesty International representative said it was hard to keep a precise tally of the number of people held on political grounds because of the pattern of arrest, release and re-arrest, but at least several hundred people were being held and well over 500 faced trial, including some 300 alleged members of the Islamic group al-Jihad and 200 people accused of left-wing political activity.

The report describes findings which were sent to the Egyptian government in a memorandum in June 1982, with a request that the authorities receive an Amnesty International mission to discuss it. No response was received, an official of the movement said.

The Dawn

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NO SUBSTITUTES

The Palestine National Council opened its sixteenth session February 14 in Algiers, amidst all the rumours by anti-Palestinian elements about dissension and irreparable differences among Palestinian factions and the impossibility of such a conference after the Lebanon war.

For the last several months, anti-Palestinians exhausted themselves in trying to dredge up the most minute point of disagreement among Palestinians in order to produce, in their minds only, a manufactured split. All the while, Palestinians and their friends were confident in their political strength and unanimity about the PLO as their sole and legitimate representative. They set about the democratic process of discussing their tactical differences within the PNC (the highest legislative authority for the Palestinian people).

Although the mere fact that the council was held disproved the Western propaganda of a PLO besought by splits, the enemy continues to day dream. Wishful thinking now directs the Western imperialist media's daily reporting on the PNC meetings. Readers and listeners who have no alternative to such media must wait hours, days or possibly weeks to discover the extent to which they were misled.

Inside reports of proceedings of the meetings indicate that the decisions taken will dissappoint enemies of the Palestinian people. Their plots to crush, disolve or undermine the PLO as the legitimate representative have failed. There are no substitutes.

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Palestinian Official in US Predicts

FEZ CONFERENCE AND PLO-JORDAN RAPPROCHMENT WILL HIGHLIGHT PNC

by Ghassan Bishara, Our Washington Correspondent

Before his departure to the 16th PNC meeting in Algeria, Hassan Abdul Rahman, new director of the Palestinian Information Office in Washington DC, gave an interview to Al Fajr.

Abdul Rahman, who served at the PLO mission to the UN since 1974, was transfered to Washington late last summer. At the UN, we were told, he, together with representative Zuhdi Terazi, was well known for his rational approach in handling the affairs of one of the busiest delegations to the UN. "Rationalism," Hassan Abdul Rahman says, "is the only way a problem such as ours can get the attention it deserves."

Born in Palestine in the mid-'40s, Abdul Rahman received his MA from the University of Puerto Rico and was a PhD candidate at the City University of New York until he was called to join the PLO delegation to the UN.

Al Fajr: **How important do you believe the PNC meeting in Algeria will be?**

Abdul Rahman: I think it will be a very important meeting, as it comes at a very crucial moment of our history, particularly in the aftermath of the events of last summer, the Fez summit conference and in light of the negotiations taking place between the PLO and Jordan. Another issue which makes this PNC meeting important is the so-called Reagan initiative. All these issues will be dealt with, or at least will be on the minds of many or all members of the council.

Al Fajr: **Will the executive committee present to the PNC a plan including the Fez summit resolutions, the Reagan plan, or a plan for a federation or confederation with Jordan, upon which a decision will be made?**

Abdul Rahman: First, the head of the political department of the PLO must present a report covering the period from the last council meeting to the present one. As far as the guidelines for future PLO strategy, on the diplomatic, economic and political levels, and other issues of concern to the Palestinians, all will be drafted in committees of the national council: political by the political committee, military by the military committee, etc.

As it is with other such bodies, much of the work will be done in caucuses and in negotiations between the members. The political report will be discussed in open session.

Al Fajr: **Isn't the PNC just like any parliamentary body with diversified political views, where most caucusing and agreement takes place before the official session is called?**

Abdul Rahman: Yes, and many meetings have taken place in preparation for this forthcoming session: in Damascus, in Tunisia, in Jordan, in Kuwait and more recently in Aden. All of these were connected with, and preparatory to, the PNC meeting. A great deal of groundwork has been done, and in Algiers on February 10, there will be a meeting of the executive committee and of the trade unions and popular organisations.

Al Fajr: **If a plan of federation or confederation with Jordan were to be presented to the council, would you expect a favourable response?**

Abdul Rahman: Relations and negotiations with Jordan will be discussed as part of the political report. In the past, the executive committee and other PLO institutions and Fatah have endorsed the negotiations and the special relations between a liberated Palestine and Jordan. Therefore, I expect the national council to endorse these. As far as peace plans are concerned, I expect the Fez conference resolutions to be approved. The Reagan plan, however, though it may be on the minds of some, is not expected to be the subject of extensive negotiations. It will be reported. Because it is linked to the question of Palestine: it cannot be ignored. The bottom line for Palestinian strategy, I expect, will be the Fez resolutions.

Al Fajr: **How far has discussion progressed with the government of Jordan about what you have just said — relations between liberated Palestine and Jordan?**

Hassan Abdul Rahman

"As far as the guidelines for future PLO strategy, on the diplomatic, economic and political levels . . . all will be drafted in committees of the national council . . . "

Abdul Rahman: Negotiations have taken place and a joint statement was issued by the higher political joint committee which accepted the possibility of a distinct and special relationship between liberated Palestine and Jordan, and endorsed the concept of acting together on the basis of the Fez resolutions and Arab solidarity. With a few individual reservations, not organisational reservations, all PLO factions endorse a dialogue with Jordan.

Al Fajr: **To many Palestinians, dialogue with Jordan raises feelings of hostility due to the Jordanian government's historical relationship with the Palestinians. What would you say to these people?**

Abdul Rahman: We all agree on the need to serve the cause of our people and to achieve their rights. We share with Jordan mutual interests and historical responsibilities, since the Israeli onslaught is not only directed against us, but against the whole Arab region. Now, when we act out of understanding for our historical responsibility as a vanguard of Arab nationalism and our cause, we feel it is essential that we find as wide a consensus within the Arab world as possible, starting with Jordan. Our relationship with Jordan, however, should not be at the expense of our relations with anyone in the region. It is, in fact, consistent with our position that an Arab consensus must be achieved. All Arab capabilities have to be employed in this very decisive confrontation between us, as Palestinans and as Arabs, and Israel.

Relations with Jordan will have to be voluntary and on the basis of absolute and total equality between Palestine and Jordan. If we know what we want to achieve from these relations, the support of our people will be granted.

Al Fajr: **Would you be able to say that the government of King Hussein will now accept Palestinians and the PLO as equal partners?**

Abdul Rahman: It is understood that the Jordanian government has made it very clear that we are equal partners. King Hussein did not ask that power be delegated to him; to negotiate on our behalf, nor did we offer him that. Therefore, it is a relation between equals.

OPINION

Al Fajr invites readers to submit letters, opinions and articles. Contributions must be signed, but names can be withheld upon request.

ONE ISRAELI'S ANGLE BY PERETZ KIDRON

JUST THE MAN ON THE JOB

One of the senior Israeli officers condemned by the Beirut massacre inquiry for their conduct at the time of the bloodbath, has now been recommended for a new post. According to media reports, the officer – under a three-year ban from any field command – has instead been offered the post of head of the army's training command. (The job also brings him promotion in rank – but that is a separate issue).

It is perhaps a little perplexing that one officer condemned for failing to act to prevent the systematic butchery of hundreds of unarmed civilians, should be placed in charge of training young conscripts. It is a well-known fact that training a soldier extends far beyond equipping him with the techniques for handling weapons systems, or with other necessary skills; over and above such technical know-how, his role in the military machine requires him to be taught how to behave as a soldier, how to integrate into his unit, and how to obey the commands of this superiours.

If we are to believe official apologists, he is also supposed to learn the legal and moral restrictions governing his use of the weapons entrusted to him. Moreover, under one of the more enlightened provisions of Israel's military code, he is also required to know that there are certain orders which he is forbidden to obey. If commanded to commit a flagrantly illegal act, he is entitled – and, moreover, legally bound – to disobey that order.

The distinction between legal and illegal orders is a fine one, and differentiating between them requires the soldier to possess a rudimentary legal and moral awareness. Some soldiers come to the armed forces already bearing such an awareness – but it cannot be assumed, and it must be stressed and highlighted in the course of their training.

But here is a paradox: the man whose responsibilities include inculcation of that awareness was tried and found wanting at the time of the massacres in Sabra and Shatila; so the inquiry commission judged, after carefully weighing the evidence and allowing him ample scope to prove his innocence. The commission ruled that his lapse was sufficiently grave to disqualify him from holding a field command.

Is he then fit – morally fit – to train others to face the test he himself failed?

If such an officer is now considered qualified to take on such a job, then Ariel Sharon – whose own conduct at the time of the massacres induced the commission to recommend his resignation from the post of defence minister, and who is now in consequence reduced to the humiliating status of minister-without-portfolio – should be compensated by his early appointment as minister of education.

NEITHER THE FIRST, NOR THE LAST

The decision of the Histadrut control committee to approve the firing of Assaf Adiv from the Histadrut-owned Hamat factory, means that the highest authorities of the Histadrut gave their official stamp to the unacceptable custom of political firings.

This step severely attacks democracy and citizen's rights in Israel and encourages political harassment. There is no doubt that the racist and McCarthyist management of Hamat and 'Koor' who organised the firing at the beginning of the war, can celebrate today, together with the rest of the bosses in the country.

The political character of the firing was clear for all to see, and couldn't be mistaken. Assaf Adiv was fired from his job as a fitter in Hamat factory during the war, not because he was careless in his work or broke discipline, but because of his unequivocal stand against the war, and his refusal to bend before the chauvinist, anti-Arab incitement that accompanied it.

All the necessary facts were brought before the central control committee which was to give the official position of the Histadrut on this issue.

On the sixth floor of the Histadrut building, there ensued a battle between two different conceptions regarding the question of what the society in which we live should be like:

The 'Koor' concern that demanded affirmation of the firing, stood for war, for a society that lives on its sword and wages imperialist wars like the Lebanon war. Assaf Adiv who demanded to return to his job, stood for the peace aspirations of hundreds and thousands of working people who have nothing to gain from the wars.

The 'Koor' concern stood for an oppressive, parasitic society that lives on the expense of another people. Assaf Adiv stood for a society that aspires to freedom and equality between all nations.

The 'Koor' concern stood for those who are interested in dividing the Jewish from the Arab worker, and who profit from it. Assaf Adiv, for forging Arab-Jewish unity;

The 'Koor' concern stood for the totalitarian system that silences its opponents. Assaf Adiv stood for the democratic system, based on freedom of expression, of organisation, and the right of all to earn a decent living irrespective of their political outlook, nationality, sex or race.

The roots of the McCarthyist decision which gave full support to the 'Koor' concern, are deeply rooted in a regime that was founded on a deformed basis. They stem from those actions which led to the expulsion of a whole nation from its homeland, and continued throughout the years, to this very day, depriving the Palestinians in the occupied territories of democratic and national rights. This reached its peak in the war of Lebanon. This war is intimately connected to the shameful exploitation and discrimination that Arab workers are subjected to in Israel, who are persecuted only for being Palestinian Arabs, whose wages are the lowest, and for whom jobs in major sectors of industry are completely closed.

It is also connected to the anti-democratic system that prevailed during the '50s, when one was denied a job if one didn't have (the Labour Alignment) Mapai's red membership card.

The claim to represent the working class, democratic rights and trade union rights has been blown. Instead the ugly face of the Histadrut was revealed; the same Histadrut that takes a decisive part in stealing lands, building settlements in the occupied areas and that mobilised all its resources for the Lebanon war. The selfish interests of the bosses who control it leave no room for such 'trivial and insignificant' matters as respect for human life, democracy and defense of workers' rights and the freedom of speech.

Assaf Adiv was not the first worker they fired for his political views, and the Histadrut decision indicates that he is not going to be the last one. That is why the struggle for the demand to cancel his firing must go on.

Editorial from Derech Hanitzutz

Eyewitness Account from a Beirut Burn Clinic

EFFECTS OF ISRAEL'S BOMBING ON THE HUMAN BODY

The following is part of a letter received by a friend who worked last summer in a clinic in Beirut and later in Gaza hospital in Sabra and Shatila camps. Her name was withheld upon request.

"Our facility in Beirut was a burn clinic. Our patients were of two main classifications. Most were the victims of aerial shelter bombings. This method employed huge conventional bombs to open up the shelter. This in itself killed most of the people immediately. Then, within a few seconds, a small shell or shells would hit inside and explode. They were very high temperature chemicals or phosphorous. The effect was to burn people only.

"I went to a shelter where nearly two hundred people had been. The building was practically intact, but the shelter under it was smashed open. The entry hole for the chemical shell was less than two feet across, showing no physical damage where it exploded inside, but you could see the splash marks from its contents over all the walls, pillars and the ceiling.

"I studied some of the material on the pillars. It was the same stuff I scraped out of the skin of some of my patients. But *nothing* in the shelter showed any indication of burning.

"The patients, who all described the scene in identical terms, were very severely and extensively burned. We saved 23 of them. Ten are still buried there, as there was no heavy equipment for moving large pieces of concrete.

"The other main type of patient was one of those burned by phosphorous shells fired from artillery, tanks, or, I suppose, gun boats. These wounds had, for the most part, to be cut or scraped away to get rid of the phosphorous. Amputation was sometimes needed to stop the burning.

"They were extremely strong people. I was amazed at their courage. As they recovered, they were told of devastating losses among their family members. Some people lost all their children, as well as a husband, mother or father. But they went on to find who was left that they could help.

"We took most of our patients with us when we went out to the camps at the end of August, but some, even very badly injured we had to send with the evacuees."

Is There Discrimination Against Palestinians in the Sports Field?

by Daoud Kuttab

"Is their discrimination against Palestinians on the sports field?" A Swedish team which supports Palestinian rights posed this question in a letter to **Al Fajr**. After surveying the sports scene in the occupied territories and inside the 'green line', the answer has to be a bold 'yes'. One sports commentator put it thus: "In the occupied West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights, the Israeli authorities have not contributed any help to Palestinians and Syrians whatsoever as far as sports are concerned. On the contrary, they have extinguished any possibility for Palestinians to excell in sports."

Discrimination starts early. Very little funding is provided from the occupation budget for sports in schools. Consequently, sport fields are in poor condition and most schools have no qualified sports teachers. Recreation periods are covered by any teacher available.

Nor are the few sports teachers available immune from other pressures. Maha Naim Odeh, a 22-year-old teacher at Dura high school in the Hebron district, was summarily fired from her post January 30. She was told by the authorities that she was "no longer needed." This, despite the fact that the Hebron area, with a population of 120,000, has only one other qualified women's sports teacher. Maha's father, who is an ex-political prisoner, says that the firing is "purely political, considering that her school is in dire need of her."

Olympics

Perhaps the most blatant case of interference in the free-running of sports came in 1980. Early that year the Palestinian Basketball Federation in Gaza, which is officially recognised by the FIBA, received an official invitation to attend the Olympics to be held in Moscow. The invitation was sent to the Palestinian federation president, Dr. George Rishmawi, who immediately flew to Moscow to make appropriate preparations. Upon his return, July 1, just 10 days before the start of the Olympics, he was arrested. All 50 members of the PBF from Gaza and the West Bank were barred from leaving the country untill after the Olympics.

Dr. Rishmawi was released a week later after signing a pledge not to leave for Moscow. Since then, he has been under town arrest. The town arrest order cites "security" as the reason.

Abd al-Latif Gheith, sports editor for **Al Fajr** Arabic daily, explains the Israeli attitude towards sports in the occupied territories: "They are simply not interested in this field at all. We have private clubs which have very humble means and we participate in a sports league that we have established. As far as I know,the authorities have not contributed anything to sports in the occupied territories." Gheith explains that even in Jerusalem, which Israel considers annexed, no improvements have taken place. "On the contrary, football fields, like the one in Sheikh Jarah, have become unusable because of the government's negligence."

Galilee and Triangle

The situation is somewhat different as far as the Palestinians living inside the pre-'67 Israeli territories are concerned. Sports teams are organised in officially sanctioned leagues. Palestinian sportsmen and women point out, however, that discrimination swings between the subtle and the flagrant. Nathir Mejalli, writer and a sports fan, explains the reality of the attitude of the government and its institutions to Palestinian sports: "In most Jewish communities there are facilities for basketball, volleyball, wrestling, boxing, gymnastics, as well as football." Surveying all Arab communities in Israel, Mejalli points to basketball teams in Nazareth and Ailaboun, a volleyball team in Majdel Krum and boxing in one or two villages. "The rest only have football teams which are unable to make it to the higher leagues."

Mejalli explains why athletics is in poor shape in the Arab sector, "Athletic teams normally have three sources of finanacial support: the Histadrut (the Israeli trade union), local councils and the community." The Histadrut, explains Mejalli, provides extensive funding for Jewish development towns and settlements. These development budgets, which are provided to Jewish communities, are not provided to Arab villages. Hence the phenomenon any visitor can witness. Settlements with a dozen inhabitants have financed sport areas, while nearby Arab villages, inhabited by thousands of people, have none.

Arab local councils barely have budgets for essential services, let alone leisure activities. The support of the local communities, which is the only source of funding for the various athletic teams, does not amount to a great deal, considering Arab communities are poor, and because there are no fenced-in sports areas for collecting money at the gates.

Individual talents

In addition to the fact that most young people in Arab villages grow up without any proper facilities for training, most schools in the Galilee and the Triangle have neither the land nor the funds to develop sports areas. There is probably no Israeli school without fields or courts. Many even have swimming pools. One result of this policy is that Palestnian youths tend to excel at individual events and in sports that do not require basic facilities. In the village of Sakhnin, for example, the high school cross-country and running teams have been the best team in the country for four years in a row. Young men and women, some of whom run barefoot, far exceeded Israeli Jewish competitors in running events.

In professional sports, many Arab players have made it to the top football teams in the country. Players like Rifa't Turk and Ali Othman have been on the Israeli national team for years.

"Ahli al-Khalil", West Bank football champions from Hebron have to play on dirt fields.

No Class 'A' Teams

But, despite the presence of excellent individual talents among Palestinian players, no Arab team has made it into the football league's first division. The best Arab team in the country is the Shafa 'Amr team which is fighting to stay in division two. Anton Shalhat, sports editor for the Arabic bi-weekly **Al Ittihad**, explains the reasons for this situation: "Most athletic clubs in the Arab sector are connected with the Israeli Histadrut and are given the word 'Hapoel' in front of the name of the village or city. And, although the Histadrut's council has declared equality with Arabs during the 12th, 13th and 14th conferences, when asked, they will tell you that there is discrimination against Arabs in the following areas: the number of Histadrut clubs in the Arab community are disproportionate to those in Jewish communities. The support given to the existing teams is peanuts when compared to the amount of money given to Jewish teams.

"In many teams the budget provided is not even sufficient to pay for a trainer, an indoor training hall or a grass field. Players belonging to Arab teams are forced to work in order to live, while many players on Jewish teams receive individual financial support allowing them to concentrate on athletics."

Abd al-Wahab Sarhan, trainer for the Majdel Krum volleyball team echoes the same sentiments: "Our allowance from the Histadrut is very small and even when funds are allotted it takes ages for us to see the money." Sarhan, whose volleyball team is now in the 'A' division, explains that the village is still waiting for its '82-'83 allocation: "Six months ago, the Histadrut finally approved IS6 million for the village; if we don't receive the money soon it will be too late because the fiscal year will soon be over."

Sarhan also points to more pernicious problems. "Although we have an excellent team, we still have no indoor arena," he explained. "When we have a a home game and it is cloudy or rainy we have to find a hall in a nearby Jewish settlement and pay them handsomely."

Sarhan points out that if they are unable to find a hall, as the home team, they must forfeit the game, losing points in the process.

Terror

Arab teams also charge bias in administration and refereeing. After overcoming the above mentioned shortcomings, Arab athletes have to play half their matches away from their home fields and crowds. Many of these away matches are played with Jewish teams and until four years ago all games were controlled by Jewish referees. (Now there are eight Arab referees)

Cases of violence and even use of weapons during games are widespread. The most notorious example is the 1981 Kufr Yasif-Julis game. During a tense game an Israeli army grenade was thrown, killing one and injuring several spectators.

With the increase of violence at games, police presence has became vital. Palestinian sportsmen contend that even the police force has taken a negative stand towards Arab teams and players. Early in January a match was scheduled between Deir Hanna (an Arab village in the Galilee) and Sagur. A week before the match a telegramme was sent to the police asking them to be present at the match. The telegramme arrived two days before the match because of a postal strike. The police refused to attend the match stating that they should have been informed four days before the match according to regulations.

The Deir Hanna officials who were afraid of trouble offered to pay the police their expenses if they would come, as is allowed, but the police refused. The match took place without police presence and as expected there was violence including shooting. Four players from Deir Hanna were injured and the field was closed as a penalty for the home team not providing sufficient protection.

Sports experts say that the intimidation of opposing teams and hostile crowds contributes negatively to the performances of the Arab athlete. Athletes also complain that referees and ethics courts clearly discriminate against Arab players. Even the eight recently appointed Arab referees are placed under strong pressure. One referee says he was forced to cancel a game after strong pressure from a Jewish team to reverse a decision he made.

Most experts state the prospects for sports in the Arab sector are very dim. All those involved explain that things will continue as present as long as the overall policy of the Israeli government and the various Zionist institutions is to discriminate against Arabs in general. "Until there is a major change in this ideology Arabs will continue to be discriminated against with officials favouring members of 'the chosen people'," said one administrator.

BEGIN'S WAR GOVERNMENT ACCUSED

UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR LEIBOWITZ

"I call on soldiers to refuse orders to serve in the occupied territories."

by Shuki Ben-Ami

"Those who murder will be national heros; those who oppose them will be traitors. Those who intend to kill us must be killed. Terror will continue, if there is no counter-terrorism, and we will fall. I do not distinguish between the murderers and the authorities. The murderers act on the orders of the authorities." With these sentences, Professor Yeshayahu Leibowitz began his meeting with journalists at his home in Jerusalem.

We went to see the "Prophet of Rage" of the Jewish people, the day after a hand grenade was thrown at Peace Now demonstrators. The true "Prophet of Rage"? Or is he perhaps Hans Christian Anderson's boy who pointed his finger at the naked king?

The meeting took place in a narrow room, simply furnished, its walls lined with books. Professor Leibowitz is enraged, his fluent speech punctuated from time to time, by a raising of the voice. He does not spare his tongue and strikes out in all directions.

"I am not surprised that a grenade was thrown," says Professor Leibowitz, "It is the necessary and unavoidable continuation of the political line adopted by the government of Israel. Every Israeli government, for the last 15 years, has adopted this policy, with the agreement of the majority of the people. The throwing of the hand grenade is the result of the situation created. Everything that perpetuates it, will bring ruin to the state of Israel, from inside the house and from outside.

Q: Is this a black day for you?

Professor Leibowitz: The black day was the seventh, the day after the six day war. That day we had to decide whether it was a war of defense or a war of occupation. In retrospect, we decided that it was a war of occupation. That same day, the decline and fall of the state of Israel began.

Q: Is there, in your opinion, a direct connection between the throwing of the hand grenade at the demonstration, and the continued presence of our authorities in the occupied territories'.

Professor Leibowitz: There is no difference between the two; they are both the same. An occupation authority means fascism, Nazism and murder. Everyone who goes along with our authority over the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, goes along with murder. Last summer I warned that if we let things roll along the way they were and continue to rule over the Palestinian people, it would lead to a civil war among us.

Q: Does the throwing of the hand grenade, in your view, indicate the beginning of a civil war?

Professor Leibowitz: Not yet, although the continuation of our rule over the Palestinians will lead to it. At present everything depends on the will of the people. What interests me is that there are many soldiers who refuse to serve in the occupied territories. I inc te for this; e erything else is nonsense and futility. I expect nothing whatsoever from the government. In fact its very existence and the fact that there is such a government testifies to the continuation of the process started by the previous government which has brought matters to the stage where the state of Israel is no longer the state of the Jewish people. This is the system of occupation of another people. Begin continues this line and Ariel Sharon is the faithful executor.

Q: In your view, is it possible to stop the process and to prevent a civil war in Israel?

Professor Leibowitz: What can change things is collective action. There is no need for the 400,000 people who came to demonstrate. All it needs is 4000 soldiers with weapons in their hands! Nobody will dare to touch them when they refuse to obey orders. (Professor Leibowitz raises his voice.) Weapons will ensure that nobody will dare to touch them! This situation must be prepared for. The army must be broken up!

Q: Is this call of yours acceptable?

Professor Leibowitz: I don't know. Perhaps if I were a few years younger, I would do it myself. Unfortunately, I will be 80 this month.

Dozens of young people have been visiting me in recent months, many of them teenagers about to be called up. I tell all of them not to serve in the occupied territories. From among this contemptible people, there have emerged heros who agreed to be maligned for refusing to comply with orders. They are the real heros. Peace Now has, so far, not fulfilled its true function, because it has not called on its members to refuse to serve in the occupied territories. Whoever doesn't do this, doesn't do anything.

Q: In the demonstration that took place in front of the prime minister's office, the ideological differences between the two camps emerged. Is this, in your opinion, an additional dimension of the civil war which you foresee?

Professor Leibowitz: Half the population of the state of Israel, perhaps the majority, consider themselves oppressed. Those who feel like this, without understanding the background and the reason for it, find themselves, in the end, supporting a murderous nationalism. (He raises his voice in anger . . .) Primitive, murderous nationalism, which, from a psychological point of view, is a way out chosen by the suffering masses, for psychological and not just material reasons. It is the release they find for themselves.

Professor Leibowitz does not spare his words, even on the Labour governments. Golda Meir he calls "the evil old woman," Yitzhaq Rabin is "the idiot who came after her." Menachem Begin he defines as an "old terrorist" and he sees Foreign Minister Yitzhaq Shamir as one of those responsible for the murder of Count Bernadotte – "so what does he have to complain about Yasir Arafat?" asks Professor Leibowitz.

The Blocking of Wells is a Judeo-Nazi Act

Submerged in his feelings, Professor Leibowitz adds: "The problem is not the authorities; the problem is the people. The great crisis of the Jewish people lies in the fact that for most Jews who want to be Jews, there is no content to their Judaism other than a coloured rag tied to a pole, erected in their name.

Apart from the heroism of battle and power, there is no other content to Judaism. This crisis started in the nineteenth century. When the Jewish people began to lose all real content. Still, they have not lost the awareness of the desire to be Jewish, but now it is all embodied in a Judeo-Nazi mentality. For 4000 years we have been remembering that our forefathers' wells were closed by the Philistines. We did the same to Beduin in the desert 10 years ago, to force them off their land. Closing the wells of Beduin in the desert is a Nazi act. It was the first time I realised that a Judeo-Nazi mentality had begun to take us over.

Before the war in Lebanon, we murdered between 30 and 40 Arabs and wounded another 150, in the occupied territories. Among those killed were children, a boy of eight. We murdered because officers ordered soldieres to open fire on the masses who held no weapons in their hands. They only organised demonstrations against foreign occupation.

Q: What, in your view, is the extent of Ariel Sharon's responsibility for creating the situation which you portray?

Professor Leibowitz: I repeat: The responsibility is on the people who choose the government. A terrible injustice has been done to Sharon. He was the loyal executor of the policy of the state of Israel and its governments for the last 15 years. According to this political line, Sharon did what he had to do.

Q: When you say "An injustice has been done to Ariel Sharon," do you mean by the commission of inquiry?

Professor Leibowitz: The commission of inquiry carried out its work faithfully. It was not easy to put forward the things that were said in the conclusion, except that the work undertaken was, from the outset, lacking all value. The things that happened in Lebanon were the necessary and unavoidable result of the political line taken by the state of Israel. In the deepest possible sense, all those accused of murder are not guilty at all. For that reason I was against the Eichmann trial at the time. The commission could have said that it cleared all those accused because they acted according to the line of the state of Israel.

Q: Despite all this, what, in your opinion, can be done?

Professor Leibowitz: It's impossible to do anything. Most of the people want this situation and it will continue until we are ruined from inside and cursed from outside by the world. We will roll into war with the whole Arab world, from Morocco to Kuwait. We lost peace with Egypt. The Arab world has worldwide support. We are at war with the whole of humanity.

The situation can be summed up from a 2000-year perspective. Two peoples live here. Each of them claims, with the deepest conviction, that this land was their land. This situation cannot be changed by any means in the world. There is one way out, one alternative: to divide the land between the two peoples without any claims to rights. This solution can only come about by a political arrangement, such as that for the partition of Germany, which was the only alternative to a third world war."

We left the man's house, "Crazy?" asked one of the journalists.

"He sees demons," one of them said.

"There is something in what the man says," someone said, "he's perhaps the only one among us who sees the truth."

(Translation from Al Hamishmar)

US Gave 'Green Light' To Israeli Invasion

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington Correspondent

Haig's role was instrumental

In the spring issue of *Foreign Policy*, not yet published, Zeev Schiff, the military editor of *Haaretz* in Tel Aviv, provides details about American knowledge of and, finally, agreement with Israel's plans to invade Lebanon.

"Based on trustworthy intelligence, Israel was confident that the US would welcome a military operation in Lebanon if it struck at the case of Moscow's allies – the PLO and Syria." Schiff argues that it was not an American-Israeli conspiracy, but "an implicit American-Israeli partnership" and the US, having been well aware of Israel's intentions, "chose to look the other way." Washington's "apparent indifference" to Israel's plan was interpreted by the Israeli government as a green light for the invasion.

Sharon understood the US would "look the other way."

Implicit American approval, Schiff writes, weakened Israeli elements opposed to the invasion both in government and in the Israeli public. He also argues that based on previous Israeli plans for war, many Israeli ministers understood that "Israel was already assured of US support." Schiff also describes Israel's ties with Bashir Gemayel, and US awareness of such and of Israel's concentration of troops on Lebanon's southern border. Thus Habib used this as a means to pressure Syria to remove its missiles from the Beqa'a, which Israel later destroyed. The cease-fire negotiated by Habib, Schiff argues, "bore the seeds of the forthcoming war," adding that Israel was not the winner of the artillery war of the summer of 1981.

The article, yet to be published, also talks of Haig's instrumental role in granting Sharon the understanding that the US would not obstruct Israel's war plans, due to Sharon's visit to Beirut that month. Then came Saguy's visit to Washington, extracting an understanding that a violation of the Habib cease-fire anywhere in the world would be grounds for an Israeli move against Lebanon. Then, in May 1982, Sharon's visit to Washington and a conversation with Haig, assured Sharon that the US would look the other way at Israel's plans, and this "from Sharon's point of view" was the American green light needed.

Schiff then discussed a series of letters between Washington and Jerusalem, leading Israeli government officials to believe that the whole US administration was aware and did not disagree with Sharon's plans to move against Lebanon. Understandings of Arab stands were also then discussed. Schiff concludes that the US's refusal to unequivocally warn Israel against the invasion, and to call on Israel to get out of Lebanon later unconditionally, is what Israel needed.

The War Government and War Crimes: From Incrimination to Trial

We have now read the complete text of the report of the official commission of inquiry into the Sabra and Shatila massacres with the utmost seriousness and responsibility. Despite our appreciation for the courageous work of the members of the commission, carried out against a background of political intimidation in the country, we believe that it has failed to uncover the whole truth. First, it examined neither the political and ideological aspects, nor the preceding situation which explains the behaviour of the Israeli occupation forces in Beirut. Second, certain facts were not even brought to the commission's attention.

The commission of inquiry has, with varying degrees of severity, incriminated Sharon, Eitan, Shamir and a number of senior officers. But what are the charges levelled by the commission against them? "Negligence", "dereliction of duty", "failure to foresee what might result from the entry of the Phalangists into the camps", and so on. It is as if human error lay behind the deeds and actions of these men, rather than a deep-rooted and remorseless attitude based on a blind and animal hatred of Palestinians and a desire to see them liquidated.

The commission has also quite decisively absolved the ruling politico-military establishment in Israel from any direct or indirect responsibility in the planning of the massacres or in their actual perpetration. It has also cleared the agent Sa'ad Haddad and his gang of mercenaries in the pay of Israel.

However, the report does confirm what has been common knowledge to the entire world for years now. Israel has supplied the Phalangists with everything they need: heavy, middle-range and light arms, training and even army uniforms. Relations between the Phalangists and Israel started at the beginning of the civil war in Lebanon and have gone from strength to strength since then.

If we suppose, as stated in the commission's report, that the Phalangists carried out the massacres on their own, then how can we explain the fact that it was the Israeli forces that let the Phalangists into the camps, and helped them by firing flares and offering them army tractors to bury the corpses.

Over and above the discussion of these facts, is the point that one of the aims of this insane war was the physical liquidation of the Palestinians as a people and as human beings, so that no one would be left to claim Palestinian rights. We have heard about the "small-scale" massacres perpetrated by the invaders before they reached Beirut. Can we forget Raphael Eitan's infamous declaration before an audience of school students in Tiberias, shortly before the outbreak of the war: "The conflict in this country is between two parties and it will not end until one of them has wiped out the other . . . Israel, of course, is not going to be the one that is wiped out." If this is not an affirmation of the criminal dream of slaughtering the Palestinians, just as our people were slaughtered in Sabra and Shatila, then what does it mean? When Begin refers to the Palestinian leadership as "animals crawling on four legs," what does it signify? Is it not the beginning of a process of justification for the massacre of the Palestinian people?

There are those who will try to see the official commission of inquiry's report as "proof" of Israel's "humanity" and "democracy". All the bloodshedders, big and small, from Reagan in Washington to Abu el-Arz in Beirut, have wasted no time in lauding Israeli democracy. But we believe that humanitarian Jewish thinker Professor Yeshayahu Leibowitz put his finger on the heart of the matter when he accused the Israeli government of fascistic occupation practices: "The collective extermination of an unarmed population is the inevitable and unavoidable result of the imposed occupation and rule of another people that has lasted over 15 years. The Palestinian people has to be eliminated, and to this end, the repression exercised in the occupied territories is not enough. Palestinians must be destroyed wherever they are. This is the political line for which the Alignment bears the responsibility before Begin. It was given expression by the evil old woman (Golda Meir) when she said: 'Where are the Palestinian people? There are no Palestinians.' "

* * *

It is with the utmost concern for democracy and the rights of people, that we consider the ruling politico-military leadership's procrastination in implementing the commission of inquiry's recommendations, and its attempts to stir up a fascist wave of support for Sharon and Eitan and the government in general. Furthermore, it is a matter of great concern that the leadership of the Alignment – the largest opposition bloc in the Knesset – has remained silent, hidden away like mice, instead of coming out to organise a massive popular campaign to bring down this tragic government.

It was the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality's outcry at the start of the war that subsequently opened the way for the movement of resistance to the war. Once again it is this Front – through its Knesset group – that has decided to break through the confusion and hesitation of the Zionist "opposition" by tabling a motion of no confidence in the government, in order to bring it down and try its leaders for the crimes they have committed.

We call on all lovers of peace and democracy and those who are concerned with human rights – including our Arab masses, brothers and sisters of the victims of Sabra and Shatila – to join in a massive popular defensive action to force this government out of office. The sooner it is brought down, the sooner both Arabs and Jews will escape from the circle of torture, tears and blood.

It remains for us to say – with the certainty of those who are acquainted with the inevitable course of history in our age – that whatever the recommendations of the commission of inquiry, they will not serve as a substitute for the judgement of history against all war criminals. This judgement will come, of that there can be no doubt.

(Translation: Al Ittihad, February 11)

Military intelligence is charged with the collection, production and dissemination of military, geographic and economic intelligence, especially on the Arab nations, and security in the Defense Forces and Administered Territories. This component is an element of the Israeli Ministry of Defense and a part of the Defense Forces General Staff. The Director of Military Intelligence (DMT) is a member of Va'adat. Although Air Force and Navy Intelligence officers are subordinate to their respective commanders, they are members of the DMI's staff and attend his staff meetings.

The Geographical Division evaluates information and compiles target studies on the Arab countries. It is divided into three area desks; the Western, consisting of Egypt, Sudan and Libya; the Eastern, consisting of Iraq, Syria and Lebanon; and the Southern, consisting of Jordan and the Arabian Peninsula. Every effort is made in this division to create the narrowest type of specialist – a man who can devote himself to his material over a period of years. For example, in the middle 1960s the Jordan Desk Chief had held his job for 15 years and probably knew more about the Jordanian military than most Jordanian Army officers.

The Intelligence Corps is responsible for overt and covert collection operations, including all signal intelligence activities for the Israeli intelligence community, and for operational support functions. The Corps is subordinate to the DMI and is under the command of the Chief Intelligence Officer. This unit consists of a large headquarters staff which supervises subordinate operational field elements. Although it has no authority over area command assets, the Corps supervises the use of technical devices in operations. All requirements levied on the Corps must be validated by the Deputy Director of Military Intelligence.

The Signals Branch of the Collection Division, which includes communications and electronic intelligence and landline operations, collects communications intelligence for the entire intelligence and security community. The actual collection operation is performed by the IDF Signal Corps. The Israeli Air Force also participates and maintains liaison with other service components on electronic warfare. The Israelis have been very successful in their COMINT and ELINT operations against the Arabs. During the Six-Day War in 1967 the Israelis succeeded in intercepting, breaking and disseminating a tremendous volume of Arab traffic quickly and accurately, including a high-level conversation between the late President Gamal Abd-Nasser of the UAR and King Hussein of Jordan. Over the years the Israelis have mounted cross-border operations and tapped Arab landline communications for extended periods. The Israelis have also on occasion booby trapped the landlines.

Interrogators use a variety of deception techniques in questioning prisoners.

The Agents Branch is in charge of all agent operations run by Military Intelligence. The Branch is not permitted to run agent operations abroad but it has sole jurisdiction over agent operations across the borders of Israel into neighbouring states. The Agents Branch has executive authority over Shin Bet operations which are run against the intelligence service of a neighbouring Arab state. Egypt and Syria are the prime operational targets. The Interrogation Unit of the Agents Branch controls POW interrogation teams which are especially trained and prepared to accompany any major IDF military operation beyond the ceasefire lines. These teams are keystones in Military Intelligence tactical operations. Interrogators use a variety of deception techniques in questioning prisoners. Although prisoners are usually treated well, interrogators may give the initial impression that other prisoners have been mistreated or even executed for failure to cooperate. Arabic-speaking IDF interrogators sometimes pose as Arab officers and circulate among prisoners to elicit information. These techniques usually produce a large quantity of information from captured enemy personnel.

Foreign Relations

The Foreign Relations Department directs the activities of Israeli Ministry of Defense Missions and Defense Attaches abroad through the Attaches Division. Ministry of Defense Missions and Israeli Defense Attaches are located in Washington, New York City, London, Paris, Bonn, Rome, The Hague, Ankara, Tehran, Bangkok, Buenos Aires, Tokyo, Brasilia and Caracas. Several of these attaches are also accredited to adjacent countries. The true role of most defense missions and attache posts is to sell Israeli defense industry products and purchase defense equipment for the IDF. There are few posts which are actually attache offices in the traditional sense, the principal ones being in Washington, London, and Paris Israeli defense attaches abroad advise their respective ambassadors, report on host country military matters, keep abreast of all research and development in the host country and in general, represent the IDF abroad. Attaches also do operational support work for Mossad. Israeli military missions have been sent to some countries for training and support purposes, but those missions have not been officially accredited to the country concerned.

WHAT BEGIN AND REAGAN DIDN'T WANT YOU TO KNOW
PART VII

ISRAEL'S MILITARY INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS

This week's article on Israel's Military Intelligence division, is the seventh in our 10-part series excerpted from a 1979 CIA and US State Department document, originally published in CounterSpy magazine. Next week: Air Force and Naval Intelligence.

Field Security and Censorship

The Field Security and Military Censorship Department is responsible for counter-intelligence within the IDF, and conducts physical and personnel security investigations. Field Security is also responsible for security clearances of all personnel assigned to Military Intelligence. This Department conducts daily liaison with Shin Bet, which is responsible for IDF reserve personnel on inactive status and has final responsibility in counterintelligence and security cases. In the middle 1960s the Security Department included a Personnel Security Division to assign personnel, supervise and coordinate clearances and conduct surveillance. A Counterintelligence Division had the responsibility of ensuring security regarding communications, documents and installations. An Education and Training Division was responsible for troop security indoctrination. A computerized document checking office was set up in the early 1960s to control distribution and disposal of all Top Secret documents originating within the IDF. The Field Security Department coordinates and monitors the activities of Field Security units attached to the IDF territorial commands to maintain order. Each territorial commander is responsible for security in his area and uses Field Security units to preserve law and order. Israel is divided into Northern, Central and Southern commands plus the Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa districts. Both Tel Aviv District and the Central Command, also located there, are separate from IDF General Headquarters which is located in Tel Aviv. The Gaza Strip, although not contiguous to the Central Command, has been placed under that Command because pacification and antiterrorist operations in the past few years have succeeded in bringing relative stability to the area. Sinai is under the Southern Command, which has two Field Security units. In the mid-1960s the Northern Command had three Field Security units.

The Gaza Strip . . . has been placed under (the Central) Command, because pacification and antiterrorist operations in the past few years have succeeded in bringing relative stability to the area.

The Censorship Office is in charge of monitoring outgoing communications from Israel to ensure that no information of military value is transmitted. If the monitor hears a discussion involving matters of military importance, he will cut off the conversation. On one occasion a monitor reportedly listened in on a private conversation and reported gleefully to his colleagues in the room what he heard. The monitor was fired on the spot. Monitoring activity concentrates largely on international telephone calls from foreign media personnel in Israel to their home offices abroad.

The Military Censorship Office within the Field Security and Military Censorship Department is responsible for all censorship. In addition this component, by law, has extremely wide powers in dealing with the Israeli press and other mass media. In practice, the IDF has found it advisable to operate on a gentleman's agreement basis and depend largely on the good intentions of editors and the like to refrain from publishing stories about Israeli military secrets. This office operates on behalf of the entire IDF.

The Chief of the Censorship Office sits on the "Committee of Three' which acts as a Board of Appeal and final arbiter in all matters relating to censorship. The two other members are a representative of the press and a representative of the public at large. The last named must be agreed upon by both other parties. In effect all information is broken down into three categories. (1) items that are permitted without question, (2) items that are not permitted under any circumstances, and (3) items that must be cleared before publication. Blank spaces are found only infrequently in the press owing to a regulation which forbids this practice; for example, an entire page must be reset if a single item must be withdrawn from publication. All IDF publications and press releases must be coordinated with and approved by the Censorship Office. All information media, foreign and domestic, must submit any item having a security or significant political implication to the Censorship Office prior to its release. Most press organizations have a teletype link with the IDF to expedite this process; others must handcarry their items to the office.

PALESTINE AND LITERATURE

The Translation

by K. Keltie

martyr **mär´ter, n. one who by his death bears witness to his belief; one who suffers for his belief; a chronic sufferer from a disease...**

Typing paper adjusted; margins set; white-out bottle to hand; two-way dictionary at the ready; glass of tea stirred; new pack of cigarettes opened.

> **Ladies, and gentlemen, fellow-members of the Society for the Preservation and Growth of our National Heritage, I welcome you all to this celebration of the completion of five hard but fruitful years in the life of our society.**

Fine so far; rather longwinded, but straightforward. Probably, actually, all this preamble will be cut and reduced to one succinct sentence giving 'background information.' However, theirs not to reason why, and I had better get on with it, as it's now . . . uh . . . half past eight and this translation must be wrapped up tonight, without, I hope, too much recourse to the dictionary. Ah, thank heaven for hot, sweet tea.

> **. . . difficult years during which our faithfulness/ solidarity has stood the test of oppressive measures, the exile of leading members, sorrows on a national scale, and the deaths of many of our dear comrades . . .**

Now he's getting into it. Is 'comrades' perhaps too Russian in flavour? Too redolent of the Petrograd citizenry taking to the streets? No, I don't think so; and it has the merit of being an exact translation.

> **In this meeting today, we wish to remember with pride and to pay tribute to the memory of two of our young brothers whose recent tragic but heroic deaths bind our society even more closely together with ties of loyalty and determination. We will never give up our struggle! The blood of our martyrs calls/ cries out for justice from the ground . . .**

Hell — as soon as he warms up, we get right back to 'martyrs'. I can't use 'martyrs' yet again; he doesn't mean 'martyrs'. OK, leave 'martyrs' with a big question-mark over it.

> **. . . it (what? oh, 'blood') provides the juice/ sap for the growth of the trees of our growing/ rising generation.**

And we all know, don't we, that trees do not emigrate; trees are steadfast, immovable. Yes, sir, we know. We are the trees of our growing/ rising generation. Imagined question from the floor:

— "Mr Speaker, has it occured to you as you perpetrate this magnificently original image, that trees can be cut down, leaving ugly stumps which may/ may not sprout new shoots? A certain amount of reafforestation is surely required: blood does not automatically lead to the growth of steadfast, immovable trees."

Imagined response from the speaker:

"Ah, I would like to thank my learned questioner, Mr Bryce (MA), for giving me the opportunity to express how profoundly the symbol of the tree is planted in our hearts." (Notice the insoluble connection between 'blood' — or as he says here 'hearts' — and trees. Notice also the satisfactory parallel between the circulatory system of the human body — with the potential analogy of the national body ever present and waiting to burgeon forth at an appropriate moment — and the root system of trees.) "I, of course, do not expect you as a foreigner, Mr Bryce, to be able to respond fully to this symbol which over the years has gained unanimous acceptance among our struggling people." I too, my dear (learned) speaker, would be struggling if I had had to hear such derivative symbolism on each and every national occasion.

This (fascinating, may I say) discussion is not, however, accomplishing the translation of this (learned) speech, and is, my dear Bryce PhD (almost), only serving to cover the aforesaid speech with ash and tea-stains. A criticism of the rhetoric involved is not your province. Learned though you undoubtedly are, you are a mere translator, so how about some self-discipline? It is after all, may I have the boldness to point out, getting on to 9:00 pm, and this needs to be finished and telexed by 11:30 tomorrow morning.

OK: leaving aside trees, which I can do nothing about, I still haven't reached a decision on 'martyrs':

> **The blood of our martyrs cries out for justice from the ground.**

What's wrong with 'martyrs', Bryce? Well, martyrs surely have a choice, whereas these people didn't. A martyr can recant; he doesn't have to be thrown to the lions; he chooses death as the better way. 'Victim', perhaps?

> **The blood of our victims cries out . . .**

No; that sounds as though 'we' killed them. Well then, some neutral word, though the speaker is far from neutral . . . 'martyrs' . . . definitely unneutral. So I need a word which retains the reality of the injustice, suffering and confusion — which is actually what he's referring to — but a word which does not immediately grate on the ears. 'Our dead'? 'Our slain (oh help!) brothers'? 'Our murdered . . .'; murdered whats? Compatriots? Too cold . . . martyrs. I refuse to write 'martyrs'. After all, one has to translate the sense, not the word only. Perhaps to local ears, 'marytrs' is exactly right; it must be or it wouldn't be continually used with such high zest. It's even beginning to sound semi-acceptable to me, for God's sake — I've been here too long; home leave is clearly required.

The first time I heard 'martyrs' used like that, my apprehension of the event was completely overshadowed by my outrage at the misuse of the English language. I refuse point-blank to have my name attached to anything that misuses the word 'martyrs' so violently.

It's a perfectly good word after all — Greek, I would think (thank you, learned colleague) — meaning 'witness' or something. Where's my English dictionary? But it doesn't mean 'witness' any more either. Why won't words stay still? The early Christians cornered the market, I suppose; like those people that Pliny or someone sent out onto the frozen lake. Dark firs all around . . . silent wintry stars . . . "Strip! Sergeant, see to it that these men strip!" Well, that's not so different today, is it? Sergeant, see to it that these men strip. The sergeant's method of seeing to it will not have changed in essentials either. Come to think of it, it couldn't have been Pliny who sent them out: whoever it was later joined them on the ice himself, singing hymns, and himself become a martyr deep in present-day Bulgaria or Hungary or somewhere. Pliny must have been the one who reported the incident to headquarters in one of his constant letters begging for advice. I'm sure there's some link between Pliny and martyrs — poor guy, he was out of his league in the frozen forests of Eastern Europe. I sympathise.

Now, dictionary . . . M. . . A . . . R . . . MAR. . .

> marmoset, **mär'mō-zet, n. a group of very small American monkeys (Fr. Marmousent, a grotesque figure).**

Well, I couldn't have told you that. This job has an untold number of little finds lurking between every line. Here we are:

> martyr **mär'ter, n. one who by his death bears witness** (yes) **to his belief; one who suffers for his belief; a chronic sufferer from a disease (with . . . to) . . v.t. to put to death for his belief; to inflict suffering on (OE — L — Gr. a witness).**

It certainly sounds more active, involving more of a choice, because of the 'bears witness to his belief' bit. There is that secondary meaning, though; perhaps that covers the requirements of the present context? But no, these people did not 'suffer for their beliefs.' Who knows what they personally believed? They suffered simply for their race, or nationality, about which there is very little choice. It's much worse than 'martyrdom' actually; 'victims' would be more accurate.

It's the survivors who desperately need each death to be a 'martyrdom': a meaningful national event, instead of a pointless and often sordid muddle. Each 'martyr' enriches the national myth. Well, strength to them; perhaps the myth creates its own realities. But the word is used so loosely and so incredibly frequently. We're practically at the stage when a death at the age of 99 from natural causes is hailed as a 'martyrdom'. Maybe one thing all this does show is how all-pervasive the presence of the enemy is in the people's consciousness . . . is this train of thought never going to end? I've forgotten exactly why I was so against the use of 'martyrs'.

> **The blood of our martyrs cries out for justice . . .**

Oh, it just sounds so ideological somehow. It will surely alienate native English-speaking readers at once, especially those of the Uncle Bert type, sitting with his slippers and his **Daily Telegraph** somewhere in the Midlands. If I'm translating meaning, surely I've got to take the readership into account? I'll be on to Wittgenstein next, if I'm not careful: "What does it mean to ask what a word means?" etc. In English 'martyrs' does not work; I must keep hold of that. So 'martyrs' is out.

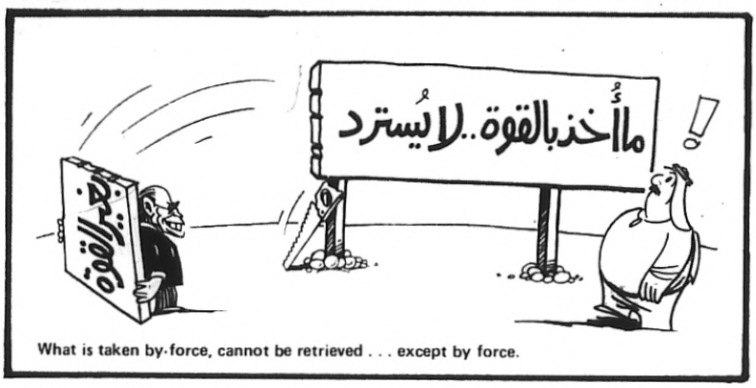
But why do I bother? 'We will never give up our struggle' gives the game away before I even get to martyrs.' No, maybe not. I wonder why these people speak like this. I suppose all public speakers do? 'We will fight them on the beaches'. . . etc.; but that's different. No one had said we would fight them on the beaches before Churchill — he coined his own memorable phrases; he didn't merely churn out the requisite cliches of every previous speaker and newspaper editor. 'Marytrs', don't you try emotional blackmail on me. It will have to be 'dead', I think:

> **The blood of our dead cries out. . .**

This is going to take all night at this rate. But won't the boss be proud of you? I doubt that he'll notice actually. However, I notice, and, despite the rhetoric, the speaker has a point: these particular deaths are the most recent expression of a whole iniquitous policy of oppression and one which the Western world has failed to see for what it is. Calling them 'martyrs', however, will not move Uncle Bert a hair's breadth towards understanding what's going on here. I can just see the old gent sitting steadfast and immovable in his preconceived interpretations. This speaker with his martyrs and trees won't budge him.

Anyway, 'dead' it is. Make what you will of it, Uncle Bert, I'm going to have a tea-break. Only one paragraph done and mental cramp has set in already. You're past it, Bryce, you've got too involved. Remember those halcyon days of unclouded judgement when the cancellation of 'martyrs' would have been the work of a moment. Oh naive and callous cancellation! Oh boundless confidence of youth! Whence all these pettifogging scruples? They seem indeed to have grown up thick and fast, watered by the blood of many martyrs.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



What is taken by force, cannot be retrieved . . . except by force.

All the Palestinian newspapers published in the occupied territories dedicated their lead and background stories, opinions, editorials and photos to the 16th Palestine National Council session, which opened in Algiers February 14.

Al Fajr Arabic daily, which has been running a front page forum column featuring articles by leading Palestinian personalities in the occupied territories entitled "On The Eve of the PNC," printed its masthead in red on February 14, announcing the support of Palestinian municipalities and national institutions for the PLO leadership. Al Fajr also included a daily column of brief PNC news.

Responsible For Sabra-Shatila

The decisions of the legal Israeli inquiry commission, although important, cannot draw the curtain over the monstrous crime committed in Sabra and Shatila. There are other parties who shared in the massacre and there is, above all else, the political responsibility of other parties, particularly that of the US administration which reneged on its promises and withdrew its forces from Beirut two days before the massacre and without prior warning.

These parties, Washington, Israel, the Phalangists and the reactionary Arabs, bear the political responsibility for the old and new massacres organised against the Palestinians, their existence, rights and lives.

This is because the crime of Sabra and Shatila was perpetrated on the basis of a political stand of denying the Palestinian people the right to a secure independent homeland. Thus, those who take this stand continue, in the face of the steadfastness of the Palestinian people and their resolve to regain their rights and defend their national existence, to justify themselves and use every means to serve this stand.

A glance at the Kahan commission report provokes astonishment at the disgusting indifference of a number of Israeli officials to the news of the massacre that reached them. Begin's statement, "Arabs are killing Arabs," still sticks in the mind.

Thus this political stand of denying the Palestinian people the right to self-determination is responsible for the massacres, and those who take such a stand bear the total responsibility for it, and it is unimportant who actually carried it out.

If the massacre of Sabra and Shatila was infamous, there are others which have happened and are still happening, albeit more cautiously and gradually.

The blowing-up of the Palestinian Research Centre, the assassinations at Ain al-Hilweh, the expulsion of Palestinian civilians from the town of Sidon – all of these fall within the same framework and serve the same policy as that of the Phalangists in Sabra and Shatila with Israeli planning and at the request of Israeli leaders.

Nobody doubts that the US administration, with its secret service apparatus, its informational capabilities and its presence in Beirut, were aware of the preparations to let the Phalangists into the camps, especially as TV and newspaper reporters testified that such preparations were underway four days before the massacre. There were Phalangists who were guests of the Israeli forces in Beirut airport.

There is no consolation for the children or mothers who lost their families, in the condemnation of one officer or another. There is no reassurance for any Palestinian that the massacre of Sabra and Shatila will not re-occur, as long as there remains the denial of the right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent homeland, as long as there remains US and Israeli policy which regards the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as merely Palestinian refugee camps whose will needs to be organised in accordance with the Israeli autonomy plans or Reagan's American plan!

There has been much talk of the "democracy" reflected by the Kahan commission report, but those who talk this way try to hide one simple truth: "A people which oppresses another people can never itself be free."

AL TALIA
February 10

Deadlock!

In the next few months Israel will be busy with new elections or with acute political conflicts which will render it unable to take the political decision which the Americans or some of its Arab allies wish for. This is the least that can be forecast from what is currently taking place on the Israeli political scene.

The United States will be busy, as of next summer, preparing for the forthcoming presidential elections and will not be interested in the Near or Middle East. This can be confirmed by following American statements.

Thus, some Arab capitals, which are waiting for an 'opening' from the Kahan commission report, prove once again that they are not only acting from a position of reaction but also from impotence and lack of independent will and are dancing in step to the tunes of the White House.

What we fear and expect is to hear that we must wait until the political situation in Israel is stabilised and that we must not disturb President Reagan, but must wait until the elections are over . . . That Reagan, in his second term of office as president, will be stronger and more decisive with Israel, etc. etc. . . In other words, the same old record we have been listening to for dozens of years and which proves that there will be no end except with the end of the rotten regimes of the region.

AL SHAAB
February 11

Jewish Society at Crossroads

It is impossible not to comment on the explosion that took place in front of the Israeli premier's office last Thursday, during a demonstration organised by the Peace Now movement to call for the implementation of the recommendations of the Kahan commission – principally the removal of War Minister Ariel Sharon.

The demonstration started in Zion Square on Jaffa road in West Jerusalem. As the demonstrators made their way to Menachem Begin's office, a number of Sharon's extremist supporters jostled and argued with them and tried to prevent them from reaching Begin's office.

To be accurate, the right-wing fascist attempts to provoke the demonstrators, hostile to Israeli government policy, were not the first of their kind. We have constantly witnessed such attempts, but they have never before reached the level of armed confrontation with the use of bombs.

It is no secret that a social change began to take place in Israeli society after Israel's occupation of Arab lands in 1967. Last Thursday's explosion has set off a resounding alarm-bell, not only for Arabs, but also for Jews who desire a just peace with their Arab neighbours. It has confirmed for them that the right-wing has reached such a point of extremism that it is ready to use force to kill its own opposition among the Jewish people.

The Peace Now demonstrators, who were the target of a right-wing fascist bomb, are, in their overwhelming majority, Zionist Jews who support their state and are ready to fight for its sake. But their crime is that they are against extremism and fascism and they reject the policy of Menachem Begin's government – a policy that has inflicted destruction and human loss on thousands of unarmed civilians and has given the criminal fascist Phalangists the chance to savagely slaughter unarmed Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila camps.

Faced with this fact, the whole of Israeli society is today standing at the cross-roads. Either it stands up to the fascist tendency spreading within it, and puts an end to the use of force to silence every voice of opposition, or it gives up. That would be an end to which other peoples, who believed in their racial superiority, and let the fascists among them decide their fate, have already gone.

AL FAJR
February 13

Good News From Algeria

The PNC meeting which opened in Algeria yesterday is, in one respect, an international demonstration of support for the Palestinian people.

The presence of delegations from 80 countries, including friendly countries, liberation movements and friendly parties, indicates the strengthening of international support for the Palestinian cause and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

This demonstration of confidence in our people is complementary to the basic principles which emerged during the meeting of the Palestinian leadership, which are the desires to confirm national unity and to crystalise a united Palestinian stand on all the proposed issues. This has been confirmed by the various statements made to the press in Algeria during the past few days.

The coming days will prove our people's ability to close their ranks and strengthen their national unity.

AL SHAAB
February 15

Film Review :

Field Diary: The Occupation's 'Banality Without Evil'

by John Richardson

Talking to the audience after the first Israeli screening of his latest film, **Field Diary**, Amos Gitai said he tried to show the "banality" of the occupation. In this he succeeded. Hanna Arendt sub-titled her famous book on the Eichmann trial, 'The Banality of Evil' — Gitai has shown us the banality without the evil.

The two-hour documentary is described as a study of the state of the occupation last summer. To accomplish this Gitai and his crew give us a series of shots several minutes long of various encounters they had during their travels in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This style has its advantages and its drawbacks. Sometimes it works . . . one of the first scenes is the crew and a delegation from a kibbutz outside the home of Nablus Mayor Bassam Shaka'a. The officer in charge of monitoring Shaka'a's visitors grows increasingly irritated, confused and contradictory as the camera follows him around collecting ID cards from all-and-sundry.

The episode is utilised in part to shows us the titles, screened over a close-up of an Israeli's ID, that the officer-of-the-day held in front of the lense. It ends with the soldiers arresting one Israeli and taking the ID cards of the others down to military headquarters.

Other scenes, however, didn't work. While the extended shots can lead to unexpected revelations as the subject becomes more loquatious, it always starts with confusion and uneasiness as the interviewee adjusts. Sometimes the audience was amused by the embarrassed victim — the very last scene in the film shows an Israeli foot patrol outside Ramallah getting increasingly irritated with the attention — the crew, it seems, stopped them 'getting the truth' out of a Palestinian boy — and after shuffling around a while they call up an officer in a scene almost reminiscent of a little boy rushing off to "tell big brother."

Between Nablus and Ramallah we encounter the 'coexistence' between the occupied and the occupiers. A steady stream of soldiers and settlers are exhibited for us to peruse. A Palestinian family, whose livelihood has been destroyed when bulldozers uprooted their olive grove, are anguished beneath the camera's glare. A farmer stands under his tree and explains what the land means to him. We see an arrest, settlement houses being built and are taken on a visit to one bombed-out corner of southern Lebanon.

Sitting writing this several hours after seeing the movie I am still ambivalent. Sometimes Gitai seems to want to inform, but if this was an aim of the movie it fails. We are told that Israel has taken the land and water but there's no attempt to explain why or how. A news item from Israel Radio is played over a shot of a patrol about to commence a tour. The radio tells us of strikes and demonstrations. These do not appear on the screen.

Some of its impressionistic pieces are also (probably) too obscure for the uninitiated. For instance a military education unit is shown taking photographs of each other in a wheat field. The field, of course, is clearly Palestinian to anyone who has visited the West Bank. Over the shot we hear voices talking about the future of Judea and Samaria. The long-shot technique didn't help. The unit probably took about seven snaps. And once you've seen one portrait of giggly girl soldiers and their macho colleagues arranging, freezing and taking a picture the mind begins to wander. Mine departed to speculate on what the poor guy who'd sweated to tend his crop to ripeness would say when he discovered the vandalism of an army unit (and film crew?) trampling his crop.

There are also personal frustrations. When one knows that one of Shaka'a's visitors had to struggle for several years to become a member of the kibbutz (because he refused to serve in the army) one wishes that was made explicit as it gives a certain perspective on the delegation coming to talk peace to the mayor. Again, an arrested "stonethrower" turns out to be none other than a colleague on another paper. The desire to leap up and tell the audience that the guy got three months despite protestations of innocence was almost overwhelming. (Incidentally, the victim turned out too late to get a seat in a packed Cinemateque hall).

At other ties, however, technique and subject matter combine perfectly. Footage of VIPs arriving and participating in the funeral of the Bar Kochba warriors (national heroes who died in 1000 AD — a subtitle tells us) with a voice-over of Begin's jingoistic eulogy to the long departed was stunning. It was followed by heart-rending lingering shots of Palestinian male-less families rearranging their lives amid plastic sheeting and rubbish in a grove of trees. Above them — and no director would have got away with splicing such a juxtaposition — lounge invading troops on their armoured personnel carriers.

Gitai's film would be easy to criticise for superficiality but the effect of some scenes like these justify much in the style. In total, a Palestinian or someone who has knowledge of the area is unlikely to be informed of anything new by the film. Many, however, are likely to gain insights which could be valuable. Particularly striking were the soliloquy of the new breed of middle class settler now flocking to the West Bank and the vociferousness of right-wingers when compared to the almost apologetic tones of those willing to express an anti-occupation opinion.

It would probably be a good second film about the West Bank for the uninformed to see. Then again, perhaps **Al Fajr's** obsessive concentration on politics has let us forego the chance to introduce you to a classic of a new cinematic genre?

PNC Spokesman Asserts Unity

Ahmad Abd al-Rahman, spokesman for the Palestine National Council, told reporters that PLO leaders have agreed on an agenda for the forthcoming PNC meetings which will include a decision on confederation of a future Palestinian state with Jordan. "The general situation of the Palestinian revolution and people and the PLO's future political programme will be discussed," said Abd al-Rahman, "as well as the political, financial and military unity between the Palestinian organisations and PLO relations with the Arab countries." The PNC spokesman announced that all leaders of PLO factions have agreed in principle that a future Palestinian state will be federated with Jordan.

The PNC statement, released after three days of intensive discussions by general secretaries of all factions, the PLO executive and the PNC presidium, said that the PLO "victoriously led the defence against the aggressive Israeli invasion for 88 days. The fighting proved that the PLO is a basic element without which a comprehensive, lasting, just peace cannot be achieved in the area."

A press release stressed that the PNC decisions "will reflect the will of those who fought and remained steadfast in Beirut." The Palestinians' right of return, self-determination and to the establishment of an independent state are still the main demands. On the Arab world, the PNC spokesman said that it and the PLO have made and shown real efforts for the peace through the Fez Summit peace initiative.

At the same time Palestinian figures in the West Bank and Gaza said that the PNC convention asserts the national unity among the Palestinian organisations achieved under the recent Aden protocols, agreed on by the general secretaries of the PLO organisations. The PNC spokesman appealed to international public opinion to support the main demands of the Palestinian people.

Asked about his attitude towards the Kahan recommendations and Israeli Defence Minister Sharon's resignation, Ahmad Abd al-Rahman said that the recommendations were positive, but not sufficient, and that "Begin shared responsibility for the massacres."

The 16th PNC is entitled the "Sa'ad Sayel martyr session." Sa'ad Sayel (Abu Walid), former head of the PLO Operations Unit, was assassinated in the Beqa'a Valley, last autumn. The PNC will be attended by 360 delegates. West Bank and Gaza delegates have been forbidden exit permits to attend the session.

The first PNC was held in Jerusalem in 1964, the last in Damascus in 1981.

The PLO has established a press office in Algeria staffed by 55 journalists who will offer translation and information to the international press corps.

JERUSALEMITES ON US COLLEGE DEAN'S LIST

Two Palestinian Jerusalemites were named to the 1982 fall semester dean's list at Illinois Valley Community College. Anton Siniora, 20, from the Musrara quarter in East Jerusalem, and Firas Zabaneh, from Beit Hanina, were mentioned in the Spring Valley, Illinois **Daily News Tribune**, January 12, 1983.

ISRAELI REACTIONS TO KAHAN

Life ground to a halt at 10 am, February 8, as Israelis gathered around radios to hear first news of the Kahan Commission report into the massacre at Sabra and Shatila in mid-September. But once news of the contents became clear — Defence Minister Sharon to be dismissed along with the head of military intelligence, others censured — reaction divided along strict party lines.

There was more speculation than hard information as the cabinet went into three consecutive daily sessions in an attempt to maintain unity in the face of the clear recommendations of the report.

Begin is said to have two options. First to go for an election. Latest opinion polls place him well ahead in public popularity. As prime minister he currently has the support of 57 percent of the electorate as opposed to 2 percent who would prefer his Labour Party rival, Shimon Peres. The ultra-rightist Tehiya faction which has three members in the government coalition has announced its support for an early poll.

The other option presently under discussion is dissolution. Begin could, observers say, resign after getting written assurances from all coalition colleagues that they would support him in a new cabinet. Once he presented such notes to President Yitzhak Navon he would have to be called upon to form a new government. Should Begin resign without such assurances Peres would be called upon to negotiate with all Knesset factions towards forming a new government.

Some sections of the NRP are said to favour crossing the floor to Labour rather than face the electorate. The cabinet is expected to announce its final decision February 10.

The Labour Party has been keeping mum over the report. The leadership has gagged junior MKs, forbidding any public speculation. Meanwhile Peres has announced that the party is demanding the acceptance in full of the commission recommendations. Labour, observers say, wants to leave Begin to stew in his own juices and not give him the opportunity to go onto the counter-attack against the party.

Communist Party MK Emile Touma called for the prosecution of those indicted by the commission.

WEEKLY REVIEW

Khalid Fahoum, head of PNC, at the sixteenth congress in Algeria last week.

Yasir Arafat, head of PLO executive committee

February 9, 1983

HOUSE TO GO?

DHEISHEH — A group of Israeli soldiers and a number of police officers carried out an engineering survey of the house of Raja al-Azzeh in Dheisheh camp. He has been under detention for over a month after being arrested on charges of setting fire to an observation post at the police centre across from the camp.

STUDENT LEADER JAILED

RAMALLAH — The Israeli military court sentenced Khader Abu 'Abra, treasurer of the Bethlehem students council, to six years imprisonment and four years suspended on charges of resisting the occupation.

OVERFLIGHTS

BEIRUT — Israeli war planes carried out reconnaissance flights over Lebanon. News reports speak of F-16s being sighted over Beirut and the Beqa'a valley.

NO GO FOR FREIGHT

WEST BANK — The Israeli authorities are preventing heavy vehicles carrying goods from the West Bank to Jordan from leaving unless they have clearance from the occupation income tax department.

SMUGGLING TOLL

TEL AVIV — A military spokesperson announced that from the start of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon to the end of December, 1982, Israeli military courts have sentenced 722 soldiers to 35 days imprisonment for smuggling goods from Lebanon to Israel.

NOW TEACHERS IN LEBANON

BEIRUT: AFP — Israeli forces are reported to have arrested Palestinian teacher Muaiyan Shabit from his home in the village of Ghazi, south of Sidon.

PULL OUT?

BEIRUT — According to Lebanese newspapers, Israeli forces are reinforcing their presence in the Beqa'a region.

FLAG FLIERS HELD

The military authorities in the village of Khaz'a arrested five youths. A number of Palestinian flags had been found flying in the village; Israeli troops came and took them down.

MISSING MUKHTAR

JENIN — The Jenin public prosecutor Fawzi Ghaith and the police are continuing their investigation into the circumstances of the disappearance of the mukhtar of Raman village, Tawfiq Anis Omour, 55. He has been missing for five days.

MEATY VAT

RAMALLAH — Butchers in Ramallah and al-Bireh are calling for a meeting with the head of the Chamber of Commerce, Ibrahim Far, to discuss VAT problems including keeping account books.

INSECURE

The military court in Ramallah sentenced Yusef Sabri Mansour from Biddo to two months imprisonment on security offences.

NEWSPAPER LEADS TO ARREST

The military authorities arrested Mohammad Abu 'Aloush Abu Daqqa after raiding his house in the Fakhari quarter of Khan Yunis. He was charged with possessing the East Jerusalem weekly **Al Talia**. Twenty people from Dhahriyeh were also reported arrested.

FAMILY AFFAIR

The Israeli authorities in Bethlehem arrested Jamal 'Atiyeh from Dheisheh camp. His brother, Nasser 'Atiyeh, a student at Hebron Polytechnic, is under town arrest.

TULKARM TRIALS

The military court in Tulkarm fined Mohammad Balidi, an employee of the Tulkarm workers union, IS3500 for "possessing a political publication." Local pharmacist Mohammad Salmon was fined IS15,000 and given a six month suspended prison after being found guilty of charges of obstructing the military.

GAZA GUERILLA SENTENCED

GAZA — The Israeli military court sentenced Issam Hatem Mohammed Bayad, 25, to 10 years imprisonment after finding him guilty of belonging to a Palestinian organisation, undergoing weapons training, possessing 94 grenades and carrying explosive devices. It also sentenced Abdullah el-Jarou, 33, from Gaza, to six years imprisonment for membership and possessing explosives.

February 10, 1983

FEARS FOR REFUGEES

BEIRUT — Olof Rydbeck, the general secretary of UNRWA, expressed deep concern for the deterioration in the security of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. Three Palestinan refugees were wounded as the result of an explosion in Mia wa Mia refugee camp near Sidon in which 2500 refugees live.

ISRAELIS HIT

BEIRUT — According to reports, two land mines exploded under Israeli miliary vehicles on the Tel Mar Elias road in South Lebanon and led to the death and wounding of a number of Israeli soldiers. They were taken by helicopter to hospitals in Israel.

GUERILLA SENTENCED

RAMALLAH — The Israeli miliary court in Ramallah sentenced Mohammad Ahmed Ibrahim Massalmeh from Beit 'Awa in the Hebron region, to four and a half years imprisonment after convicting him on "security charges". The court found him guilty of setting fire to the wheat field of an Israeli settlement on the Beer Sheba road, of receiving arms and of manufacturing explosive devices.

The court also sentenced his brother to three years imprisonment for possessing 10 rifles, for delivering weapons and for planning to set fire to fields belonging to Israeli settlements.

BOMB HOAX

TEL AVIV — An unidentified person called the headquarters of the Israeli Labour Party during a meeting of the political officers of the party in Tel Aviv and claimed that there was a bomb in the building. Israeli police searched the building but found nothing.

HEADMASTERS DISMISSED

JENIN — The authorities have dismissed Nihad Raghib Hamdan, headmaster of Haifa Boys School in Jenin, Ahmad Hafez Daraghmeh, headmaster of Tubas Boys Secondary School, Adib Abd al-Fatah 'Arideh, headmaster of 'Arabeh Secondary School and Saleh Mubadda Nawahdeh, the secretary of Yamoun Secondary School.

CAPUCCI CALLS

ROME — Archbishop Hilarion Capucci called on Israel to give up its present policy and cooperate with Muslims and Christains to agree on a lasting peace in the Middle East.

ISRAEL MOVES ON BRITAIN?

BEIRUT — Radio Lebanon reported that Israeli forces have set up a new military centre at the 'Jericho' junction in the Hadath region in Beirut opposite the post of the British unit of the multi-national forces.

February 11, 1983

RCS TO DHAHRIYEH

HEBRON — The Red Crescent Society in Hebron is continuing to send medical teams including specialist doctors, nurses and employees from the society's clinics, to Dhahriyeh in the Hebron region where they are distributing medicine and medical supplies, milk and canned food. They are treating around 500 residents from the town and suburbs. This is the second time medical teams have been sent.

PNC DEMO

JERUSALEM — Israeli police broke up a demonstration which started from al-Aqsa mosque after Friday prayers during which demonstrators carried a picture of PLO leader Yasir Arafat. The police detained three demonstrators who were released later.

According to Israel Radio, the demonstration was related to the forthcoming meeting of the PNC in Algeria on February 14.

ISRAELI PROTECTIONISM

The Israeli ministry of trade and industry has issued an order forcing importers of clothes and shoes to obtain an import permit as of February 17. Israel Radio reported that this measure is being taken because of the competitive low cost of imported clothes.

NO ISRAELIS TO LEBANON

According to sources at the Israeli interior ministry, a decision has been taken to not give permits to Israelis wishing to visit Lebanon, out of fear for their safety. Permits will only be given for exceptional and needy cases and only after getting permission from the military leaders in the northern region.

Journalists and civilians working with the army will be able to obtain permits to visit Lebanon from the military authorities.

PRISONERS STRIKE

Palestinian prisoners in Tulkarm prison have declared a hunger strike in protest against their hard and inhumane conditions. The prisoners demand improvement and an increase in their food, improvement in the prison's cleanliness and sufficient clothing and books be provided. Langer added that the prison cells are below ground level, which increases dampness

Kalandia camp under curfew, February 14/SF

and growth of moss and thus leads to sickness amongst the prisoners.

50 PERCENT PLUS GRABBED

According to a secret report from the Israeli agricultural ministry, published in the Israeli press, over 50 percent of West Bank land has come under "Israeli ownership" including "state land" and private land. The report claimed that large areas of land have been sold to Israelis recently, raising the price of land.

GRIEVANCES AIRED

TULKARM — A delegation of West Bank graduates have met with Hilmi Hanoun, mayor of Tulkarm, to discuss unemployment in the occupied territories and the Jordanian draft, incumbent on West Bank residents for two years. They also dicussed Jordan's preventing graduates from going to work in Saudi Arabia and the Arab Gulf states.

ISRAELI SHOT DEAD

GAZA — A 42-year-old Israeli man was shot dead in Souq Firas, the town's central market. Israel army forces immediately cordened off the area and arrested many people.

PERMIT TO PLANT

BIDDO — The Ramallah agricultural department has demanded that all villagers sign a document stating that farmers must work their own plots of land and be registered with the department and not on other land which is considered government land.

According to sources at the agricultural department, villagers in the Ramallah district will not be permitted to plant without permits from the authorities. Villagers from Biddo told *Al Fajr* that these procedures are in preparation for confiscating land.

February 12, 1983

PRISONER TRANSFER

JERUSALEM — Lawyers Walid Fahoum and Lea Tsemel have asked the Israeli High Court for permission to visit four Palestinian prisoners transferred from Lebanon to Israel. Tsemel said that one of the prisoners is from the Aley region, and the other three (women) are from South Lebanon.

CURFEW LIFTED

JALAZOUN — The Israeli authorities lifted the curfew imposed on the refugee camp three days ago, after residents stoned Israeli vehicles.

MORE PRISON

Nablus Military court sentenced prisoner Subhi Ibrahim Khader and four others to four and five months imprisonment, to be added to their current sentences, for striking a prison guard.

20,000 MORE

HEBRON — The Israeli authorities informed residents of Dura and Taffouh of the confiscation of thousands of dunums of land in the Ain Faris, Abu Zuluf, Ras Canat Saleh and Far'a regions, on the pretext that it is 'state land.' The region, about 20,000 dunums, lies north-west of Dura.

The landowners state they possess land deeds proving their ownership of the land.

WOMAN DIES

TEL AVIV — The Israeli woman, 22, hit by a stone two weeks ago while travelling near Dhahriyeh, died. She had been unconscious since the time of the incident.

ENFORCING AUTHORITY

JALAZOUN: RAMALLAH — The Israeli authorities arrested a number of youths for "not obeying soldiers' orders."

ANTI-ANSAR PROTEST

TYRE — Hundreds of women and children from Palestinian refugee camps staged a protest at the UNRWA office in Tyre for the release of prisoners held by the Israeli forces in Ansar detention camp in South Lebanon.

The demonstrations started out from el-Bas refugee camp and included people from Rashidiyeh, Burj al-Shamali, al-Qashimiyeh, al-Mash'oub and Abu al-Aswad camps.

DEFENSE OF TERRORISM

Eleven Israeli Labour party MKs have presented a complaint against Rabbi Meir Kahane, head of the "Kach" movement, on a charge of "incitement to murder."

In a statement on Israel Radio, Kahane said that as long as people like Yossi Sarid and members of the Peace Now movement, continued "to stab the nation in the back, then bombs should be thrown at them."

PEACE NOW REMEMBERS

Peace Now members organised demonstrations at six intersections in the Upper Galilee. Dozens of kibbutz members carried posters calling for respecting the memory of Emil Greenzweig, killed last Thursday when a grenade was thrown at a Peace Now demonstration in front of PM Begin's office.

POWER CUT THREATENED

ANABTA — The military officer in charge of the Nablus municipality has informed Anabta Mayor Dhaher Hajab, that the municipality must pay a JD1600 electricity bill, by the 15th of this month, otherwise the Nablus muncipality will cut off the town's electricity.

February 13, 1983

ACCIDENT TOLL

According to *Maariv*, an Israeli soldier, 19, was killed last Saturday night in an accident on the Ras Beina — Kiryat Shemona road in the Galilee. Four others were also wounded.

MINE KILLS 2 ISRAELIS

According to the Israeli military spokesman, two Israeli soldiers were wounded when a land mine exploded under their military bus near Rashidiyeh refugee camp in South Lebanon.

20TH REFUSAL TO SERVE

TEL AVIV — The movement "Yesh Gvul" (There is a Limit) said that a reserve officer has been sentenced to 35 days imprisonment for refusing to serve in Lebanon, for reasons of conscience. According to a statement issued by the organisation, the officer is the 20th to refuse service in Lebanon.

TAX RAID ON WOMEN'S UNION

GAZA — Customs officials visited the Women's Union and demanded that the head, Yusra Barbari, hand over the accounts file. She informed them that the union had paid no taxes or fees since its establishment in 1964. The authorities have been collecting fees for some time, but returned the money after the union asked the concerned authorities to exempt them from paying.

February 14, 1983

MABROUK!

TEL AVIV — Ma'amoun Sayyeid, editor of *Al Fajr*, and Akram Haniyeh, editor of *Al Shaab* were released from town arrest in al-Bireh and Ramallah, after 30 months under restriction.

LIFE SENTENCES

LYDDA — Lydda military court sentenced two brothers, Ali and Omar Hamdan Mussleh, from the Tulkarm area, to life imprisonment. They were found guilty of belonging to a Palestinian organisation and carrying out military operations inside Israel, which led to the death of three people and the wounding of 29 others.

The two youths were also accused of planning to kidnap an Israeli pilot and kill him.

BOMB THREAT TO AL FAJR

JERUSALEM — *Al Fajr* received a telephone call from a Hebrew-speaker warning that a bomb had been placed in the paper's offices and would explode at 10 pm. The police were contacted, but after searching the premises, they found nothing.

LATE FOR SCHOOL

WEST BANK — The Israeli officer of education in the West Bank has decided to postpone the resumption of studies in government schools, following the semester break, until next Sunday morning. Studies were supposed to have resumed on Tuesday.

FIVE ARRESTED IN LEBANON

Israel Radio reported that five people from the Rashidiyeh region in South Lebanon were arrested on suspicion of being responsible for the explosion of an Israeli bus yesterday.

CURFEWED CAMP

A curfew was imposed this morning on Kalandia refugee camp after youths stoned Israeli vehicles. The stonings were allegdly related to the opening of the 16th session of the PNC in Algeria.

RABBI SENTENCED

JERUSALEM — The magistrates court sentenced Rabbi Uri Blau, head of the Neturei Karta movement, (which does not recognise Israel), to three months imprisonment for demonstrating on the Ramot Road in Jerusalem two years ago.

NABLUS STUDENTS SUPPORT PNC

Students at Al Najah University, Nablus, issued a statement on the occasion of the PNC 16th congress confirming the "importance of national unity and strenthening it at this stage of struggle."

At the same time, agricultural unions and the union for olive oil marketing in Nablus appealed to the PNC members to take "appropriate decisions for the restoration of Palestinian land and achieving Palestinians human rights."

UNWELCOME TOURISTS

According to AFP, a car belonging to Lebanese tourists was set on fire in Beit Jala.

ISRAELI POST ATTACKED

TEL AVIV — According to the Israeli military spokesperson, an Israeli military post was attacked in east Beirut.

SHOOTINGS NEAR BETHLEHEM

TEL AVIV — Israel Radio reported that fire was opened and a bomb thrown at a car passing near Solomon's Pool a few kilometers south of Bethlehem. The radio added that nobody was hurt. Israeli forces combed the area.

GALILEE HEADS REBUFFED

TEL AVIV — According to Israel radio, an emergency meeting of Arab personalities in the Galilee took place yesterday to discuss ways of retrieving Arab land which has been confiscated and annexed to the Misgaq council. Israel Koenig, governor of the Northern District, refused to meet the 16-member delegation of local Arab councils on the pretext that he has no time. The delegation intended to raise the subject of defining borders between Arab villages and the new regional council, Misgav. According to informed sources, Koenig's refusal to meet with the delegation is due to the local Arab councils threatening a general strike.

AID FOR REFUGEES

GALILEE — A committee of personalities from the Triangle region has been formed in order to collect around 35 tons of clothing for Palestinian refugees in South Lebanon, in cooperation with the West Galilee committee.

February 15, 1983

STOP CONFISCATIONS

Over 30 residents from Beit Fourik, Nablus district, complained to the High Court in Jerusalem. They demanded an order *nisi* to stop the confiscation of livestock and attacks and beatings of villagers by Makhora settlers. Beit Fourik villagers said that the settlers are pressuring village council members to cooperate with the Village Leagues. Israeli authorities confiscated 20 square kilometres of land around the village for military purposes.

TEACHER DISMISSED

JENIN — Israeli authorities dismissed two women teachers in Silet Thaher and Ya'abad. No reasons were given.

Khetam Fayez Atari, a teacher at Silet Thaher Secondary School and Andaleeb Zaki Hamdan of Ya'abad Elementary School were told to stop teaching as of February 15.

STRANGE INVITATION

TULKARM — Israeli authorities prevented truck drivers from travelling to Amman until February 17, and instead invited drivers and farmers in Tulkarm to attend a Village League celebration.

PRISON SENTENCES

NABLUS — The Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Omar Musleh Hanoun, 53, from Dinnaba Jenin district, to 5 years effective and 5 years suspended imprisonment on security charges. The military court also sentenced Rushdi Assaf, 20, from Kufr Laqaf, Jenin district, to four years imprisonment for membership in a Palestinian organisation.

LAND CONFISCATED

Israeli authorities confiscated approximately 5000 dunums of land in the Asireh al-Qibliyeh region near Nablus. The most effected by this confiscation is Mohammad Saleh. Recently, 600 dunums were confiscated from the Jabal Salman area in the same region.

PATROL ATTACKED

BEIRUT — Groups of fighters of the joint forces attacked an Israeli military patrol in Khalde in South Lebanon. They opened fire at the patrol leading to the death and wounding of a number of them. According to the Israeli military spokesperson, one soldier was wounded. Israeli forces surrounded the area and combed the place for the attackers.

THE PRICE TO PAY

According to facts published by the Israeli Centre for Statistics, a four-member family in Israel needs IS26,500 per month. The statistics showed that the cost of living rose last December by 8.5% because of the rise in the cost of basic commodities, especially food and medicines.

ARAB FLIGHTS WITHELD

A number of major Arab airlines informed the Lebanese authorities that they will not resume flights to Beirut until all Israeli military presence is withdrawn.

ARAFAT: 'NO PRESENTS TO ISRAEL AND THE U.S.'

continued from page 1

Arafat Speech

Opening the first session of the PNC, Arafat implored the Palestinians to "carry on the armed struggle in alliance with political action on all levels." Arafat made an appeal for the unity of the organisation and promised that there will be "no concessions on our fundamental rights." He called for the proposal of the Fez summit meeting: that the federation between Palestine and Jordan will only be possible between two independent states, that is, after the constitution of an independent Palestinian state. At that time, Arafat said, it might be "a step towards Arab unity."

The PLO chairman denounced "the American and Zionist conspiracy" while paying homage to the socialist countries and primarily the Soviet Union. "The support of the Americans to Israel," he asserted, "has made the Middle East a theatre of five wars and that in Lebanon may not have been the last." He also affirmed that the Palestinians will not throw away their guns but that they are seeking a peace founded on justice and international legality which recognises their fundamental rights.

In the meantime it has become known that US President Ronal Reagan informed King Hussein, during their recent meeting in Washington, that Palestinian representation in a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation should include Palestinians that are not PLO members and that Palestinians included in such a delegation should be "acceptable to the Israeli government." Under such conditions Arafat has not even tried to put onto the PNC Agenda the project of a reciproeal and simultaneous recognition between Israel and the PLO which has preoccupied the media in recent weeks.

No US Goodwill

In his general discussions Arafat tried to justify his elasticity in regard to the US plan on Jordanian confederation but assured all others present that he has "no illusions whatsoever" on American intentions. Nor, he said, "does King Hussein have them." He informed aides that senior Egyptian representatives who accompanied President Mubarak to the West recently informed him that there was "no reason to count on Reagan's goodwill which is extremely doubtful."

"We know the Americans are not to be trusted," Nabil Sha'ath an advisor to Arafat, told journalists in Algiers. "Despite the written guarantees they gave us, Sharon's army entered Beirut and organised a massacre at Sabra and Shatila, a betrayal which will not be washed away from our memory. As they show us now, they are in no hurry to get the Israelis out of Lebanon; the Americans will surely not lift a little finger to return the West Bank and Gaza to the Palestinians."

Disappointed by the failure of the secret negotiations which he has engaged in with the US through third parties over the past weeks, Arafat did not even attempt to place on the agenda a proposal for a resolution on mutual and simulataneous recognition between Israel and the PLO. The US reply was that such a Palestinian initiative would be "insufficient." The US would not accept less than an explicit, unilateral and unconditional recognition of Israel by the PLO as a premise to reconsider its attitude.

No Presents

"No one should count on us to make any gratuitous concessions. We are not in a position to offer any presents to Israel or to the US," Arafat told journalists present at the conference.

There will also be no attempt to change the Palestinian National Covenant. "We shall sacrifice the holy cow only on the altar of peace" a spokesman said.

As of Tuesday evening, February 15, a commission of eight Palestinian leaders were discussing the final touches to be put to the political document which will be submitted this week to the PNC. The compromise which informed observers see forming is based wholly on the "Aden document" formulated by the Executive Committee and other Palestinian organisation leaders at a conference held in the Democratic Yemen capital in December, 1982. Substantially, the document stands firm against any attempt to liquidate Palestinian goals but leaves space for political maneuvering.

This compromise has been worked out with active mediation on the part of the Algerian government with discreet but efficient pressures put on the three groups PFLP-GC, the Popular Struggle Front and Sa'iqa, observers note.

The essence of this compromise is refusal to accept any solutions which do not support an independent Palestinian state nor recognise the PLO as the only representative of the Palestinian people. The emphasis is being put, in draft resolutions, on the negative aspects of the Reagan plan but without, however, shutting off diplomats' room for maneuver in order that they be able to throw responsibility on the US for the failure to force Israel to withdraw from occupied Lebanon, the West Bank and Gaza.

No to the King

The same goes for Palestinian-Jordanian relations. No representative power will be given by the PNC to King Hussein. "It is not possible to ask the various countries and governments to recognise the PLO and at the same time delegate to others this (representative power)," a spokesman said.

"And", he continued, "it makes no sense to give representation for negotiations which are at the moment, completely hypothetical. The way the Lebanese-Israeli negotiations have gone on so far certainly doesn't push us to optimism," he concluded. In fact, so unlikely do talks seem, that insiders say the question of delegation of representative powers to the Jordanian king has not even been discussed.

One issue on which chairman Arafat has been criticised by almost all groups, including leaders in FATAH, is his frequent meetings with Israeli journalist Uri Avneri and other members of the so-called Israeli Peace movement. His reply to critics was, "I am ready to discuss also with the devil, and even with Begin if this is in the interests of my people." He also said that it is important to benefit from the possibility of contradictions within Israel by getting support from the peace movement. However, this point remains perhaps the most contraversial among groups. Nayef Hawatmeh, leader of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, repeated his assessment that the Arafat-Avneri-Peled meeting had the character of a "childish, theatrical and useless demonstration."

Criticism has mainly aimed not at the idea of meeting Israeli peace delegates but in the words of one major critic, "that the people whom the chairman met aimed only at 'making a show' in a childish manner with their meetings with Arafat, that the meeting had no real political substance and that the delegation which met with Arafat does not represent a political (constitutency) even in the Israeli peace movement."

Back to Fez

The Fez programme is being considered at the PNC as the "minimal acceptable solution." This definition has been given by almost all groups represented at the PNC. FATAH leaders from Abu Iyad to Abu Jihad have, in conversations with journalists, admitted that the "Reagan Plan cannot be accepted without changes." It is expected that the formulation presented to the PNC will be that the Reagan Plan is "unacceptable unless it is changed on these points: on the representation of the PLO and the constitution of an independent Palestinian state."

Another central question under discussion at the PNC is relations with Egypt. There is almost total consensus that relations with Egypt can be renewed only after that country rescinds its ties with Camp David. It seems that the resolution drawn up by the six-member political commission is going to "reject the attempt of some reactionary Arab countries and the US to throw a destructive bridge between the Fez Plan and the Camp David agreement."

The political commission is composed of Abu Jihad (Khalil Wazir) for FATAH, Abu Mahir Yamani for the PFLP, Yasir Abed Rabbo for the DFLP, Abu Ismail for the Arab Liberation Front, Abu Khalifa for the Popular Struggle Front and Talal Najim for the PFLP-General Command.

COMMENTS FROM ALGIERS

Top Fatah leaders **Abu Jihad** (Khalil Wazir) and **Abu Iyad** (Salah Khalaf) both said, February 16, that Fatah is "totally optimistic" about the success of the current PNC session.

Nayef Hawatmeh, general secretary of the Democratic Front of the Liberation of Palestine, affirmed that there will be "no withdrawals from the PLO executive committee." He stated, "the situation is good."

The general secretary of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, **George Habash**, said that the previous experience of "rejection" (the PFLP was outside the PLO from 1974-80) had special characteristics and should not be repeated. He confirmed the PFLP's adherence to the PLO as a wide framework for Palestinian action.

Front row, left to right: Nayef Hawatmeh, George Habash, Abu Jihad.

COMPOSITION OF PNC

There are 315 delegates at the PNC. They are divided as follows: 94 representatives of the guerilla organisations: 51 for the professional and social organisations; 62 for the diaspora; 108 co-opted by those present (they comprise 75 independent personalities, 13 intellectuals and 20 deportees from the occupied territories), plus 122 from the occupied territories. The West Bank and Gaza delegates have been prevented from attending by Israel.

The guerilla organisation representatives break down as follows: 33 FATAH, 12 Sa'iqa, 12 PFLP, 12 DFLP, 9 ALF, 8 PFLP-GC, 4 PSF, 4 PLF. The professional and social organisations consist of workers-12, women-8, teachers-7, students-7, writers and journalists-3, jurists-3, engineers-3, medical professions-5, youth organisations-2 and artists-1.

PROGRESS AND DEMOCRACY

A British reporter in Algiers notes that the PNC has 32 women members while British House of Commons has only 19. This is 9 percent and 2.9 percent of their respective memberships.